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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

STENOGRAPHIC REPORT OF THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

JUNE 27-JULY 8, 1905

REASONS FOR THE MANIFESTO.

[According to the report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, adopted by the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, the time on Thursday, June 29, after the regular order of business was finished, was devoted to setting forth the reasons for the issuance of the Manifesto. A number of very interesting and inspiring addresses were given. We present below the addresses delivered by Delegates Debs and De Leon.]

SPEECH OF EUGENE V. DEBS:

Eugene V. Debs being called by the convention said:

Fellow Delegates and Comrades: As the preliminaries in organizing the convention have been disposed of, we will get down to the real work before this body. We are here to perform a task so great that it appeals to our best thought, our united energies, and will enlist our most loyal support; a task in the presence of which weak men might falter and despair, but from which it is impossible to shrink without betraying the working class. (Applause.)

I am much impressed by this proletarian gathering. I realize that I stand in the presence of those who in the past have fought, are fighting, and will continue to fight the battles of the working class economically and politically (applause), until the capitalist system is overthrown and the working class are emancipated from all of the degrading thraldom of the ages. (Applause). In this great struggle the working class are often defeated, but never vanquished. Even the defeats, if we are wise enough to profit by them, but hasten the day of the final victory.

In taking a survey of the industrial field of to-day, we are at once impressed with the total inadequacy of working class organization, with the lack of solidarity, with the widespread demoralization we see, and we are bound to conclude that the old form of pure and simple unionism has long since outgrown its usefulness (applause); that it is now not only in the way of progress, but that it has become positively reactionary, a thing that is but an auxiliary of the capitalist class. (Applause). They charge us with being assembled here for the purpose of disrupting the union movement. It is already disrupted, and if it were not disrupted we would not behold the spectacle here in this very city of a white policeman guarding a black scab, and a black policeman guarding a white scab (applause), while the trade unions stand by with their hands in their pockets wondering what is the matter with union labor in America. We are here to-day for the purpose of uniting the working class, for the purpose of eliminating that form of unionism which is responsible for the conditions as they exist to-day.

The trades union movement is to-day under the control of the capitalist class. It is preaching capitalist economics. It is serving capitalist purposes. Proof of it, positive and overwhelming, appears on every hand. All of the important strikes during the past two or three years have been lost. The great strike of the textile workers at Fall River, that proved so disastrous to those who engaged in it; the strike of the subway employes in the City of New York, where under the present form of organization the local leaders repudiated the national leaders, the national leaders repudiated the local leaders and were in alliance with the capitalist class to crush their own followers; the strike of the stockyard's employes here in Chicago; the strike of the teamsters now in progress—all, all of them bear testimony to the fact that the pure and simple form of unionism has fulfilled its mission, whatever that may have been, and that the time has come for it to go. (Great applause.)

The American Federation of Labor has numbers, but the capitalist class do not fear the American Federation of Labor; quite the contrary. The capitalist papers here in this very city at this very time are championing the cause of pure and simple unionism. Since this convention met there has been nothing in these papers but a series of misrepresentations. (Applause). If we had met instead in the interest of the American Federation of Labor these papers, these capitalist papers, would have had their columns filled with articles commending the work that is being done here. There is certainly something wrong with that form of unionism which has its chief support in the press that represents capitalism; something wrong in that form of unionism whose leaders are the lieutenants of capitalism; something wrong with that form of unionism that forms an alliance with such a capitalist combination as the Civic Federation, whose sole purpose it is to chloroform the working class while the capitalist class go through their pockets. (Applause). There are those who believe that this form of unionism can be changed from within. They are very greatly mistaken. We might as well have remained in the Republican and Democratic parties and have expected to effect certain changes from within, instead of withdrawing from those parties and organizing a party that represented the exploited working class. (Applause). There is but one way to effect this great change, and that is for the workingman to sever his relations with the American Federation and join the union that proposes upon the economic field to represent his class (applause), and we are here to-day for the purpose of organizing that union. I believe that we are capable of profiting by the experiences of the past. I believe it is possible for the delegates here assembled to form a great, sound, economic organization of the working class based upon the class struggle, that shall be broad enough to embrace every honest worker, yet narrow enough to exclude every fakir. (Applause.)

Now, let me say to those delegates who are here representing the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, that I have not in the past agreed with their tactics. I concede that their theory is right, that their principles are sound; I admit and cheerfully admit the honesty of their membership. (Applause). But there must certainly be something wrong with their tactics or their methods of propaganda if in these years they have not developed a larger membership than they have to their credit. Let me say in this connection, I am not of those who scorn you because of your small numbers. I have been taught by experience that numbers do not represent strength. (Applause). I will concede that the capitalist class do not fear the American Federation of Labor because of their numbers. Let me add that the capitalist class do not fear your Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. The one are too numerous and the other are not sufficiently numerous. The American Federation of Labor is not sound in its economics. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is sound in its economics, but in my judgment it does not appeal to the American working class in the right spirit. (Applause). Upon my lips there has never been a sneer for the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance on account of the smallness of its numbers. I have been quite capable of applauding the pluck, of admiring the courage of the members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, for though few in numbers, they stay by their colors. (Applause). I wish, if I can, to point out what I conceive to be the error in their method of propaganda. Speaking of the members as I have met them, it seems to me that they are too prone to look upon a man as a fakir who happens to disagree with them. (Applause). Now, I think there is no delegate in this convention who is more set against the real fakir than I am. But I believe it is possible for a workingman who has been the victim of fakirism to become so alert, to so strain his vision looking for the fakir that he sees the fakir where the fakir is not. (Applause). I would have you understand that I am opposed to the fakir, and I am also opposed to the fanatic. (Applause). And fanaticism is as fatal to the development of the working class movement as is fakirism. (Applause). Admitting that the principle is sound, that the theory of your organization is right—and I concede both—what good avails it, what real purpose is accomplished if you cannot develop strength sufficient to carry out the declared purpose of your organization?

Now, I believe that there is a middle ground that can be occupied without the slightest concession of principle. I believe it is possible for such an organization as the Western Federation of Miners to be brought into harmonious relation with the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. I believe it is possible that that element of the organizations represented here have the conviction, born of experience, observation and study, that the time has come to organize a new union, and I believe it is possible for these elements to mingle, to combine here, and to at least begin the work of forming a great economic or revolutionary organization of the working class so sorely needed in the struggle for their emancipation. (Applause). The supreme need of the hour, as the speaker who preceded me so clearly expressed it in his carefully and clearly thought out address—the supreme need of the hour is a sound, revolutionary working class organization. (Applause). And while I am not foolish enough to imagine that we can complete this great work in a single convention of a few days' duration, I do believe it is possible for us to initiate this work, to begin it in a way for the greatest promise, with the assurance that its work will be completed in a way that will appeal with increasing force to the working class of the country. I am satisfied that the great body of the working class in this country are prepared for just such an organization. (Applause). I know, their leaders know, that if this convention is successful their doom is sealed. (Applause). They can already see the handwriting upon the wall, and so they are seeking by all of the power at their command to discredit this convention, and in alliance with the cohorts of capitalism they are doing what they can to defeat this convention. It may fail in its mission, for they may continue to misrepresent, deceive and betray the working class and keep them in the clutches of their capitalist masters and exploiters. (Applause). They are hoping that we will fail to get together. They are hoping, as they have already expressed it, that this convention will consist of a prolonged wrangle; that such is our feeling and relations toward each other that it will be impossible for us to agree upon any vital proposition; that we will fight each other upon every point, and that when we have concluded our labors we will leave things in a worse condition than they were before. If we are true to ourselves we will undeceive those gentlemen. We will give them to understand that we are animated by motives too lofty for them in their baseness and sordidness to comprehend. (Applause). We will give them to understand that the motive here is not to use unionism as a means of serving the capitalist class, but that the motives of the men and women assembled here is to serve the working class by so organizing that class as to make their organization the promise of the coming triumph upon the economic field and the political field and the ultimate emancipation of the working class. (Applause.)

Let me say that I agree with Comrade De Leon upon one very vital point at least. (Applause). We have not been the best of friends in the past (laughter), but the whirligig of time brings about some wonderful changes. I find myself breaking away from some men I have been in very close touch with, and getting in close touch with some men from whom I have been very widely separated. (Applause). But no matter. I have long since made up my mind to pursue the straight line as I see it. A man is not worthy, in my judgment, to enlist in the services of the working class unless he has the moral stamina, if need be, to break asunder all personal relations to serve that class as he understands his duty to that class. (Applause). I have not the slightest feeling against those who in the past have seen fit to call me a fakir. (Laughter). I can afford to wait. I have waited, and I now stand ready to take by the hand every man, every woman that comes here, totally regardless of past affiliations, whose purpose it is to organize the working class upon the economic field, to launch that economic organization that shall be the expression of the economic conditions as they exist to-day; that organization for which the working class are prepared; that organization which we shall at least begin before we have ended our labors, unless we shall prove false to the object for which we have assembled here.

Now, I am not going to take the time to undertake to outline the form of this organization. Nor should I undertake to tax your patience by attempting to elaborate the plan of organization. But let me suggest, in a few words, that to accomplish its purpose this organization must not only be based upon the class struggle, but must express the economic condition of this time. We must have one organization that embraces the workers in every department of industrial activity. It must express the class struggle. It must recognize the class lines. It must of course be class-conscious. It must be totally uncompromising. (Applause). It must be an organization of the rank and file. (Applause). It must be so organized and so guided as to appeal to the intelligence of the workers of the country everywhere. And if we succeed, as I believe we will, in forming such an organization, its success is a foregone conclusion. I have already said the working class are ready for it. There are multiplied thousands in readiness to join it, waiting only to see if the organization is rightly grounded and properly formed; and this done there will be no trouble about its development, and its development will take proper form and expand to its true proportions. If this work is properly begun, it will mean in time, and not a long time at that, a single union upon the economic field. It will mean more than that; it will mean a single party upon the political field (great applause); the one the economic expression, the other the political expression of the working class; the two halves that represent the organic whole of the labor movement.

Now, let me say in closing, comrades—and I have tried to condense, not wishing to tax your patience or to take the time of others, for I believe that in such conventions as this it is more important that we shall perform than that we shall make speeches—let me say in closing that you and I and all of us who are here to enlist in the service of the working class need to have faith in each other (applause), not the faith born of ignorance and stupidity, but the enlightened faith of self-interest. We are in precisely the same position; we depend absolutely upon each other. We must get close together and stand shoulder to shoulder. (Applause). We know that without solidarity nothing is possible, that with it nothing is impossible. And so we must dispel the petty prejudices that are born of the differences of the past, and I am of those who believe that, if we get together in the true working class spirit, most of these differences will disappear, and if those of us who have differed in the past are willing to accord to each other that degree of conciliation that we ourselves feel that we are entitled to, that we will forget these differences, we will approach all of the problems that confront us, with our intelligence combined; acting together in concert, all animated by the same high resolve to form that great union, so necessary to the working class, without which their condition remains as it is, and with which, when made practical and vitalized and renewed, the working class is permeated with the conquering spirit of the class struggle, and as if by magic the entire movement is vitalized, and side by side and shoulder to shoulder in a class-conscious phalanx we move forward to certain and complete victory. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF DANIEL DE LEON.

Daniel De Leon being called by the convention said:

Fellow Delegates: From the time the Manifesto was issued, it was clear to me that the mission of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was about to be done. The eloquent speech we just heard proves it. When I came to Chicago to this convention I came absolutely without any private ax to grind or any private grudge to gratify. In fact, during my whole activity in the labor movement I have had but one foe—and I think that my worst enemy will not deny my statement—and that foe is the capitalist class. (Applause). Not a line that I have ever written, either on the political or the economic line, but was guided by that star, proceeding from the principle of the class struggle; proceeding from the conviction that the emancipation of the working class not only must be their own work, but—what is of infinitely more importance—is possible. In having this convention come together here, we, of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, indulge in the vainglorious belief that we have contributed our share; and Brother Debs will, I think—I am sure of it—admit that our literature has contributed towards that end. (Applause). I am not going to enter into a discussion or speak of that one feature which he said was the bad feature of the Alliance. I shall simply make the prophecy to him and to you, that, standing now where the Alliance stood, he will also become what the foe says I was—a fanatic; that as he sees the thing clearer to-day than he saw it when the American Railway Union was organized, he will find it clearer also who the foes of the labor movement are. I shall not go into that. All I wish to say, all I wish to go on record as saying, is this: I can imagine nothing more weak, more pitiable from a man's standpoint than to aspire at an ideal that is unrealizable, and I have overhauled my position again and again answering this question: "Is this problem that you have undertaken as one of so many—is it a problem that is solvable?" And I have concluded that IT IS. (Applause). I drew a line, and on the other side of that line I placed the fakir and those men who assume and who deny that the working class can emancipate themselves, and who consequently propose to follow their own interests to the best of their ability and opportunity.

When three years ago the miners' strike took place, it was, as far as I was concerned individually, an epoch in my existence. Before that I was certain that the emancipation of the working class could not come but through them; I was also certain that it was a possibility; but I did not know how far removed the land beyond them might lie. I knew that Columbus upon strictly scientific ground said: "The world being round, if I travel westward I must strike land." But he knew not how long he would have to travel before he struck land. His scientific premises could not involve information also upon that subject; and as he traveled—you know the story, how the weak and the uninformed fell over him and called him names, and how he had to deceive them by telling them to keep on and keep on; and had land lain a few days further west, America would not have been discovered on the 12th of October, 1492. The question for me, the really important question, the question of immediate importance, was, "How far west does the land lie? How far away is the day when the working class will not only have sufficient information not to be humbugged, but when their hearts will beat with that sound impulse under which they will dare stand upon their feet and claim that they as citizens of the twentieth century are entitled to all that they produce and not a single cent less? How far does that lie?" And that coal miners' strike gave me information upon that question. When that strike was in progress for eight months, had this organization that we hope will be launched here in Chicago been in existence, the revolution would have been accomplished in 1903. The workingman's pulse beat high. The class instinct was there; the revolutionary spirit was there; but the army of labor, like the Czar's army, which also consists of workingmen, was captained by the liteutenants of the capitalist class. (Applause). We then called Mitchell a fakir, and I am glad that there are those to-day in this convention who found fault with me then, but who will agree with me to-day that he was one. (Applause.)

Out of this body, out of this convention, a new economic organization or union will rise, and whether the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was premature, whether indeed it had this or that or the other defect, it is unnecessary for me here to go into; I could also go into some other organizations that started, and have to-day even fewer members. But the times are ripe. General information is extended, and during this process of pounding one another we have both learned; both sides have learned, and I hope and believe that this convention will bring together those who will plant themselves squarely upon the class struggle and will recognize the fact that the political expression of labor is but the shadow of the economic organization. (Applause). I believe—I know—that he who will not vote right will do everything else wrong. But I also believe and I know that there is nothing more silly than Right without Might to back it up. (Applause). And the ballot box, though it is a civilized method of discussion, though it is powerful in its way as a historic development, that ballot is the weakest of things, is the hugest fraud on earth if it is not backed by the Might to enforce it. (Applause). Do our bourgeois capitalist rulers proceed upon a different principle? Look at their law libraries. I do not believe the law books in those libraries are bound in calf or sheepskin by accident. How innocent those books look. The sheepskin in which they are bound is an emblem of innocence, of the weakness of the law without Might to enforce it. And they gather their Might in their way; we gather it in our way; and the Might of the revolutionary Socialist ballot consists in the thorough industrial organization of the productive workers, organized in such a way that when that ballot is cast the capitalist class may know that behind it is the Might to enforce it. (Applause). I have myself stated again and again, in writing and by word of mouth, that the capitalist class is the one that counts the ballots, and consequently it is absurd to expect that their election inspectors will count us in (applause)—as absurd as it would be for the Japanese in Manchuria to expect that the Russian soldiers would pull the triggers for the Japanese masters. I recognize that, but no conclusion of importance can flow from one fact. All safe conclusions flow from a number of facts that have to be considered together. The capitalist class may monkey with the ballot all they like, but for the same reason that a man can monkey with a thermometer without ever changing the temperature, a handful of capitalists may do their ballot-monkeying, but they cannot change the temperature. You can put a piece of ice to the quick silver in a thermometer in the heat of summer, and that quick silver will sink below zero, will sink to a Dakotan coldness; that does not change the temperature. You may in winter put a burning coal to the quick silver and raise it to summer heat, but that does not make it summer. The capitalist may count us out. He may lower this thermometer of the ballot, but he cannot change the temperature. His election inspectors will tell him how the situation stands; he will know how that vote is; he will know the makeup and all of it; he will understand the nature of our organization—and that brings me right smack against a question, the question that I would like to have infinitely more time to handle than I shall consume in this hall. But I shall condense.

When speaking to Brother Debs a few days ago, when we shook hands over the bloody chasm (laughter), I said to him that I greatly admired the spirit of a certain sentence uttered by him, though not the application of it. I shall leave aside the application of it so as to remove friction. The substance of his sentence was: "We are here in America under special American conditions, and we must have our own expression of the American labor movement." Admirable. There is an instinct both among the foes and the unwise friends of the movement to hold America down to the European level. I was there last year, at the Amsterdam Congress, and I can assure you that I pitied from the bottom of my heart the men whom I considered Socialists, because, Socialists though they are, they are under feudal conditions and they are worn out with feudal issues. Their efforts are neutralized; they cannot have a movement such as we can have in America, where capitalism is full-grown, where head and shoulders it is above all other nations of the world, where, not only economically but politically and socially, we have the most advanced capitalism in existence; no longer England, but America, has that distinction. (Applause). Now, then, the American capitalist class is a different thing from the European capitalist class. The European capitalist class is feudal. I was reading quite recently a Social Democratic article from Germany in which the writer correctly stated that the capitalist class is feudalized, "Verjunkert," and the feature of feudalism is to develop one virtue, and that virtue is valor. Take for instance this half crazy, half crippled emperor of Germany, he has all the vices of the catalog except one, and that vice which he has not is cowardice. He is a brave man. That is the one virtue that feudalism develops. So that the Social Democracy of Germany—and when I say Germany I mean the whole of Europe, because they are so intimately dovetailed that none of the European states can go it alone—when the Social Democracy of Germany shall have reached five millions, that emperor will with a handful of men attempt to overthrow it. He will fail. Blood will flow, workingmen's blood and ruler's blood. In other words, a physical conflict is inevitable; inevitable on account of that psychology that has developed, from the material conditions of that rule, the spirit of the European capitalist class, namely, bravery. On the other hand, do we find that spirit in the rulers of America? Have our rulers been brought up in the cradle of feudalism? Have they reached their position through any act of bravery? Have songs of bravery been the songs that rocked their cradles? No; they came to their position of rulers by putting sand into your sugar, by putting water into your molasses, by putting shoddy into your clothes, by fraudulent failures, by fraudulent fires. In other words, they have reached their position through fraud, through swindle. Now, the swindler is a coward. (Applause). Being a coward, the swindler will swagger like a bully when the adversary is weak. What do we see the capitalist class do in America to-day? It has one set of workingmen in one body, and with the other it is clubbing them, shooting them down with gatling guns. It is simply a result, not of any bravery in the capitalist class, but of the weak condition of the Giant Labor, which lies fettered by the lieutenants of capitalism. (Applause). When the capitalist class finds out what is going on in our organization, when it finds that we are well organized, when its lieutenants and its inspectors report to it the actual vote that you will cast, however little they may register in the official returns, when they report the facts, the capitalist ruler I believe will not dare to fight; the capitalist ruler will tremble in his stolen boots and be grateful to be given a chance to earn an honest living. (Applause). But they will never yield unless they realize that behind that ballot lies an organized movement, well organized, well disciplined and entirely awakened to the present condition; namely, with the industrial trades all in one organization, so that one workingman will not scab it upon another. Then in case of a strike in one place the locomotive engineers will not transport the militia, and union men, so-called, will not, as recently happened in Colorado, carry union cards in their pockets while they were aiming their guns at the miners on strike. When the capitalists know that their labor lieutenants can no longer protect them, the latter will find that their occupation, like Othello's, will be gone; the capitalists will realize that there is MIGHT behind the RIGHT of the ballot, and they will bow to the truth. But should they be stupid enough not to bow, we will then be ready and able to take up the conflict. And on this point—and that is the significant position of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance—if I were to be asked, What difference would you point out, more basic than any other, between the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and any other of the numerous economic organizations that are started with good purposes? I should say this: that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance stated what it was there for, and stated it frankly. It has proceeded upon the principle that you cannot conceal your purpose from the enemy. The enemy's instincts will tell you what you are after, whether you hide it or not. But if you hide your policy, if you hide your aims, if you conceal what you mean to do, then, while you cannot deceive the enemy—he will be as strongly against you as if you stated clearly what you wanted—you will deprive yourself of the support of the organizations that would stand behind you if they knew what you wanted. (Applause). The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance was the first labor organization in this country, since the early labor organizations who also began soundly, that frankly and fully stated to the working class of America that they had to capture the public powers. Their belief is this: that you could not first take the men into the union under the false pretense that you were going to raise their wages, and afterwards indoctrinate them. No, you had to indoctrinate them first, and then bring them in. If the S. T. & L. A. has made any mistakes at all, it would be to imagine ten years ago that there were enough such men in existence to join our ranks.

But I must close. The heat is oppressive; I have never been on good terms with the heat. Moreover, I agree with Brother Debs that this is not the occasion for speech-making, and that we have an arduous work to perform. Nevertheless, I recognize the courtesy of those who have called upon me after Brother Debs's speech, and I wish here solemnly to state that whoever stands frankly and openly with his face turned against the capitalist class, whoever stands in such a way that his associates are not different from his purpose, whoever breaks with the foe and puts himself, to use a populistic expression, "in the middle of the road"—that man will find nothing but fraternal greeting from me as an individual, and from the organization which I represent here, and which I hope will vanish the same as the A. L. U. and other mixed organizations will vanish when this convention adjourns. (Applause.)

I wish to close with what I began with. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, the same as the Socialist Labor Party, has but one ideal. The ideal is the overthrow of the capitalist class. We recognize that men may have made mistakes. We know we make them ourselves, and we are going, just as soon as the mistakes are rectified, to turn a new leaf and look at the future rather than at the past. The men of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance stand upon the elevation of nineteen centuries of civilization. We stand upon the enlightened interest of the individual. We know that our sons and daughters must marry other men's sons and daughters. We want the future improvement for our descendants, and he who wants to improve the conditions of his own sons and daughters must perforce want improved conditions for the sons and daughters of all other people. Consequently, we realize the necessity of united work. We realize the necessity of a united organized movement of the working class, and with our eyes steady upon that goal we have fought in the past and will be found fighting in the future. Ten years ago Mr. Gompers said—and you remember that passage that Brother Trautmann read to-day, where Gompers brings into such magnificent juxtaposition the S. T. & L. A. and the great Debs strike—it makes us fraternal already—Gompers said: "I know the S. L. P. men. I know what they are aiming at, but when that day comes they will find me with a gun to fight them." And my answer was then in The People, as it is now on the floor of this convention:—"Yes, Gompers; we know we shall find you there, unmasked; but you will not on that day find the S. L. P. men a small body; you will find the American working class arrayed against you—against you along with the rest of the capitalist class, whom you in fact represent." (Applause.)

DAILY PEOPLE

We would remind readers of the Weekly People who desire to keep well abreast of events that to do so they must read the Daily People.

Through the Daily People news is obtained much earlier than is possible through any weekly paper.

A great deal of interesting and important news of the revolutionary movement and of labor matters generally, which space will not permit of being published in the Weekly, is obtainable through the Daily People.

The classics of revolutionary literature, which are likewise excluded from the Weekly People by the urgent demands upon its space are published serially in the Daily People. Some stories from "The Mysteries of the People; or, History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages," by Eugene Sue, have been published and more will be published. The complete stenographic report of the Chicago Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World is now running in the Daily People. Every Socialist should have this complete report.

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Three months	$1.00
Six months	$2.00
One year	$3.50

On Boston Common

Owing to the rain during the morning and the continued threatening weather during the afternoon, the crowd on the Common was not quite so large to-day as usual.

But such a little thing as inclement weather does not deter the militant Socialist Labor Party from making a stride forward in its campaign of education. The capitalist band with its airs of patriotism made a resounding bid for the attention of the wage slaves here assembled. Nevertheless, the fact that the "world do move" is being strongly evidenced in the rapidly growing mass of workers who look with suspicion upon the different sops which serve to fill up the capitalist "full dinner pail". To quote Comrade Carroll, that pail is generally full of Salvation Army soup.

However, at four o'clock sharp the chairman, W. H. Carroll, mounted the soap box and proceeded to enlighten the audience of a "regulation type" of the single taxer, who was holding forth near by, pointing out the fallacies and inconsistencies, not alone of the doctrine of single tax, but also of the individuals who preached it, in that they regularly voted the Democratic ticket, and any workingman who was not a fool must know by this time what that party stands for, adding, that, were it possible to usher in the theory of single tax to-morrow, it would not change the status of the wage slave one iota.

"The workingman," said Carroll, "could not eat the land. Before the printer could buy himself a loaf of bread he would still have to sell himself in wage slavery to the owner of the tool with which to labor, i. e., the printing press. Before a shoemaker could buy his little daughter a pair of shoes he would first have to sell himself in wage slavery to a Douglas or a Plant. So that the position of the workingman with the land and without the tool with which to operate it, would be worse off, if that is possible, than at present."

The chairman's sallies of wit provoked the audience to laughter, in which the helpless butt of his jokes was compelled to join quite heartily. Having by this time gathered a comfortable crowd, and put them in good humor, Carroll introduced the speaker of the day, Comrade Bresnahan (the carpenter from Cambridge).

Bresnahan then portrayed, in a masterly manner, the workingman's condition in different industries as they exist to-day. It seemed a valuable as well as novel idea to me, as the average worker is wofully ignorant of the true conditions in all industries, and but few have seen behind the scenes in even their own particular trade, which is owing in great measure to the hireling status of the editorial talent attached to the capitalist press, which talent, while being a powerful, is at the same time a most pliant tool in the hands of its owner, the capitalist, upon whom it depends for its daily, weekly and monthly existence.

"America," said he, "is to-day more immensely wealthy than ever before in its history. The capitalist points (through his creatures) to the great total wealth of the nation as evidence that the American worker is better off to-day than ever before in his existence. Whole pages of the daily blatherskite press are devoted to a Bradley Martin ball, or a Seely monkey dinner, whose debaucheries and immoral extravagances, however, serve to throw a timely light behind the sanctimonious mask of rotten ripe capitalist society.

"We see no full page display of the fact, however, that at this very hour there are over 3,000,000 paupers in this land of the free, nor of that other fact that ten per cent. of the population have been permitted to apportion to themselves eighty-five per cent. of the total wealth of the nation, in the production of which wealth they have expended not one ounce of energy, ten per cent. of the population whose sole ability lies in a species of Jesse James, and Jay Gould cunning and craftiness in buying up puppet legislatures, through which they sandbag and rob the actual producers of that wealth.

"With the bulk of your marriages taking place on a buying and selling basis for so much property or cold cash, is it not no more nor less than down right wholesale prostitution aided and abetted by the so-called 'Holy orders'?

"The poor man's daughter who has the honor and courage to marry the man of her heart's choice, oftentimes against the wishes of a grasping mother, is to be commended. How many such brave girls are falling by the wayside owing to the damning temptations forced upon them by our social conditions to-day.

"On the one hand is degenerate, licentious, unearned wealth, on the other hand, despite the most intense labor, is humiliating, abject poverty and maddening absolute want.

"What a beautiful condition of affairs confronts you, fellow workingmen, owing in great measure to your own neglect of duty, the duty of protecting the honor of yourself and family, and other defenceless members of your class from the horde of imposters and parasites that has fastened upon you! What a magnificent social condition in this, the wealthiest of nations, after two thousand years of so-called Christianity ! !

"The Elliots will prate about our glorious civilization, and the right of the individual. They are cheered to the echo by the long-faced hypocrite who, when confronted with glaring facts, will add some long cant about the 'divorce evil.' Full well he knows that the 'divorce evil' is but an effect, and equally well he knows the cause of that effect, and that should he attack that cause, he would sever the navelstring through which he is nourished.

"I have tried," Bresnahan continued, "to impress upon your mind the actual social conditions with which you are all more or less familiar. I will now endeavor to show the underlying cause of these conditions, following with the Socialist Labor Party's solution of the whole problem.

"Man's material interest has been the goad that has forced him onward and upward. Looking back through the ages we see that certain elements or classes of men in society have become all powerful because of their discovery of the fact that their mutual aims and objects in life could be more easily attained by pooling their interests, or uniting their strength in their common cause, and history shows the common cause of that element to have been the despoiling of another element or class in society, who still remained too stupid to see the enormous power of united action.

"When an element in society becomes aware of the mutual interests of its members, and acquires a knowledge of the power of unity, with a desire to utilize that great power, then that element or class of men may be said to have become class conscious; and to the extent of the thoroughness of that class consciousness just to that extent is that particular class or element powerful and mighty.

"Class consciousness in its most highly developed form is seen in the element or fraction of society that rules the world with a rod of iron to-day, that is, the capitalist class.

"Let genuine organized labor pull but a whisker of a capitalist, even in faraway Russia, and his brother capitalists the world over will growl in unison.

"Yes, the element in society to-day that is class conscious, that has discovered the wonderful power of united action, that is so effectively wielding that power to-day, that element is the capitalist class. The average workingman is a living witness to its effectiveness.

"The second element in society which is preyed upon by the first, that second element which has been too stupid to see the secret of the other's power, too dense, too thoroughly inoculated with religious bigotries and racial hatreds to clasp hands in unity, an element whose numbers are as the sands upon the seashore, whose power, were they united in the cause of their mutual needs, no man's mind dare measure, that dense, that stupid, that pitiful element is our working class of to-day, the class which, alone, with the assistance of nature, has produced all things upon this earth, which man may be pleased to call wealth.

"The working class, notwithstanding its mental indolence, is more pitiful than blameworthy. Well, does the Socialist Labor Party know that your religious bigotries are a carefully nourished evil, that your racial hatreds are forced to their full bloom in the hot-beds of capitalist national patriotism. Well do we know that the capitalist class desiring to keep that wonderful power of unity to itself has sent paid hirelings and strumpets to tear you asunder, when at times with some semblance of unity you have blindly attempted to raise yourselves to a higher social plane, only to be sold again and again like cattle at the shambles by those same hirelings behind the mask of a labor leader in the pay of the ruling class.

"You must know, some of you, at least by hearsay, of the development of industry to-day. The puppet editors of the capitalist press are paid not to teach you; therefore, it is vain to look to their press for true information, excepting on dog dinners and the daily brutal murder. If you wish to learn of what the world is doing in science and industry, if you wish to see the politico sanctum dictum claptrap of your capitalist mouthpieces, unmasked in all its rawboned greed, deceit and immorality, read these papers, the Daily and Weekly People (exhibiting copies). They are dedicated to the uplifting of the starving, suffering working class. They are owned and edited by workingmen. Their pages are open to our enemy, the capitalist class, and his overzealous hirelings. And when he darkens its pages with his ready falsehood we never fail to expose his cloven hoof.

"Here it tells (looking in The People) of the harvesting machines in the West. Three men with one of these new reaping machines can harvest the grain from ninety acres in one day. Have you any conception of the vast tract of land which is contained in ninety acres?

"How many hundreds of men did it formerly require to reap ninety acres in a day? Where are these hundreds of men now? This monster machine guided by only three men is doing their work infinitely better than ever it was done before. Multiply the number of machines at work by the hundreds of men that each displaced, and you have thousands. Where are these thousands now? Some one will say, 'Oh! they are in some other industry.' Are they? Let us see.

"According to the manufacturers' own figures given in the twelfth census, volume seven, part thirteen, we find that in the shoe industry of the country—

"In 1890, 64,000 workers produced $114,000,000 in value and received $32,000,000 in wages.

"In 1900, 62,000 workers produced 121,000,000 in value and received $29,000,000 in wages.

"That is, in 1900, 2,000 less workers produced $7,000,000 more in value and received $3,000,000 less in wages.

"Where does the displaced working class fit in there? Will your idle thousands of harvest hands get a job in the shoe industry? No, your shoe capitalist has fired 2,000 shoemakers, yet his remaining workers are turning out $7,000,000 worth more of shoes than all of them formally did together. Besides receiving the $7,000,000 extra plum Mr. Capitalist also saves $3,000,000 in wages.

"Two thousand workers fired out of the shoe factory! Perhaps they, together with the harvest hands, got a job in the flour industry. Let us see. In the twelfth census, volume nine, page 355, the capitalist tells us that he had in the flour industry—

"In 1890, 46,889 workers.

"In 1900, 36,419 workers.

"In 1900, though there were 10,470 workers less than in 1890, they produced $60,000,000 more than the total of 1890.

"Here we meet over ten thousand workers being fired out the back door of the flour mill, and it certainly seems that the ones who were kept at work had to sweat to produce that enormous increase. So you see, your idle men didn't get a job in the flour industry. The statistics of all the principal industries tells us that less workers are turning out more wealth.

"One little item from the same source tells us where some of the poor fellows have gone: The average number of lives lost in production (that means while at work) each year from 1890 to 1900 was 75,000 or a total for the ten years of 750,000. These deaths were caused by high-speed machinery, ill-ventilated mines, and numerous other causes, all of which can be summed up in one sentence, viz: 'that the capitalist may extract more profit not only out of the hides, but out of the very bodies and lives of his wage slaves.'

"Statistics will show you that the Socialist phrase (to the effect that the diamonds at the throat and in the hair of the millionaires' wives and daughters are the crystalized tears of weeping women and children) is not far fetched at all, but is absolute truth. Of course, many others have died a natural death. Thousands have committed suicide, but their numbers should be added to those lost in production, because they lost their reason and their lives by being entangled in the network of capitalist greed and extortion.

"Now, fellow workingmen, don't simply wonder over these facts for a few hours and go to sleep again—STAY AWAKE. The Socialist Labor Party, by its education and untiring labor, has been instrumental in launching an organization of the working class on a class conscious basis, in which you may unite with your fellow workers, no matter what your trade or calling. Ask yourself: do I work for wages? If the answer is yes, then your place is in the Industrial Union, with the Industrial Workers of the World. Read, read, and study. We know it is hard, but for the sake of those you love, and for those whom someone else loves, be up and be doing. Join the Socialist Labor Party and the union of your class, that by our united strength we may overthrow the monster nightmare of greed and immorality that to-day has civilization by the throat—the capitalist class.

"Help to usher in the Socialist Commonwealth. Have your name written upon the roll among the names which will be honored and revered by posterity down through all future ages.

"We will make of machinery a blessing instead of a curse. Every man shall have the right to labor and receive the full product of his toil. The thief, the parasite, the gambler, the fraud of charity, the prostitute, and all the other flesh-creeping abominations of capitalist society will then be at an end."

Closing, Bresnahan said: "I thank you."

The chairman then called for questions with just one response. Question: "How will the Socialists go about taking over the control of government, and the instruments of production?"

Answer (in part): "The constitution of the United States declares to the effect that the will of the majority of its citizens shall be law. Therefore, when a majority of our citizens (who are wage slaves to-day) get their eyes open and some of the sawdust out of their heads, they will declare for the Socialist Commonwealth; that fact alone will make their will the law, and if any late capitalist tries to butt up against the law, we will give that fellow some of the kind attentions he is now so fond of giving us. Industry will have been already organized and will not be interrupted to any great extent, except in doing away with obsolete plants, dangerous mines and many of the mental and moral slaughter houses that infamous capitalism has labeled business."

As a result directly traceable to this meeting, Comrade Bombach, assisted by the strenuous Comrade Boyle, has since sold $2.60 worth of pamphlets, secured ten subs to the Weekly People and one sub for the Arbeiter Zeitung. An apology is due to the speaker, as in the working and phrasing of the sentences I had to trust to memory throughout.

J. C. Ross.

Boston, Mass, July 30.

More Impressions of the Chicago Convention

Comrade S. J. French, upon his return to New York, is asked if T. J. Hagerty is as Anarchistic as his first speech would imply. Back of the question, it would seem, is another. Some of our comrades would like to be made acquainted with the political views of the convention as a whole. Let us take up Hagerty first. He, at the time of delivering the speech to which exception has been justly taken, in my opinion, was a man in whom a reaction from an overdose of "S. P."ism was having its effect, and that as a consequence, he was certainly inclined to underestimate the importance of class-conscious political action.

Debs, in his speech of the 29th, spoke of the labor movement as being made up of two phases, the industrial and the political, neither of which could be neglected, except at the expense of the other and of the labor movement as a whole. This conception certainly commended itself to the intelligence of the writer, and I count myself fortunate in having first heard Debs in such a speech and under such auspicious circumstances. Comrade De Leon, following, took up the same line of thought, and, in demonstrating the necessity of class-conscious organization on the industrial field, spoke of political parties as being little, if anything, more than the shadow of economic conditions. The use of the term "shadow" was, to me, unfortunate, as there was an element in the convention to which political action was "too slow" and a "delusion" and which desired to drop the political phase entirely. These few people speak habitually of the ballot as a "capitalist concession", and pronounce it worthless. On the 29th Hagerty may be said to have been with this group, and upon taking the floor after De Leon, he took up the unlucky "shadow" phrase, saying, in advocacy of his position, that we should confine our activities to the industrial field and not bother with political action, as what we were after was substance and not shadow. Had Comrade De Leon used the term "reflex", which was unquestionably in his mind, and which he has himself after used, this opening would have been denied Hagerty.

Rightly understood, little objection could be brought against De Leon's speech, but, I still hold, the reference to the political phase of the labor movement as being little more than a shadow of the economic throws open our position to misconception and abuse.

Is Hagerty as Anarchistic as his first speech would imply? In my opinion: No! At the time of the delivery of the speech in question, he, I admit, sank in my estimation, but when I saw the man fighting with the best of ours against the reactionaries, his stock went up, with me, at least. I think that his inclination to drop activity on the political field is a passing phase, which will give way to a better conception of what is to be done.

Actions speak louder than words, and, following his speech, Hagerty, as member and secretary of the Committee on Constitution, aided in bringing before the constitution a preamble which distinctly states that "until the workers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, to take and hold that which they produce by their labor", the class struggle must continue. Surely this is significant.

One of the little crowd with which Hagerty sat did, it is true, move that the allusion to the political phase be stricken out, which the convention declined to do. I do not think that Hagerty was the inspiration of this, being satisfied that he is man enough to fight his own battles. In bringing this sketch of Hagerty's work to a close, I would say that it is not my intention to palliate or explain away word or deed of the man, who, in my opinion, is big enough to have opinions of his own and also to modify them upon the presentation of the requisite evidence.

To come now to the question which, to my notion, lies behind that asked Comrade French. How stood the convention as regards political action? It is my opinion, given for what it is worth, that the "non-politicals" amounted to less than ten per cent. of those who sat in the convention and that Hagerty was the only considerable figure among them. Of course, some of the W. F. M. men were a little sore at the mention of the word politics, but that was only to be expected, when we remember the galling experience of the miners at the polls last fall, when they supported the traitor Adams against the tyrant Peabody. If that terrible lesson failed to bring a realization of the value of class-conscious action on the political field home to those who were forced, by the logic of events, to supplement a fierce struggle upon the industrial field with one upon the political, then nothing will ever do so.

In the course of Chairman Haywood's speech an allusion was made to the struggle in Colorado, in which the absurdity of abstention from political action was shown conclusively. "In our fight we had against us the forces of the municipalities, the counties, and the state; with the judiciary, the military, and the power of the nation". Is it possible that a man cognizant of such a circumstance could be brought to say that there is nothing in political action? The delegates, in the main, were men who realized where and in what time we are, not poor imitations of men bred under conditions such as obtain in Russia to-day, and I am confident that in the development of class consciousness on the industrial field, the political phase will not be neglected.

Let the S. L. P. justify its existence to the workers who make up the new organization and I have no fear as to what will be done politically. I may say, in closing this phase, that the "non-politicals" repudiate the term "Socialists" as applied to them. "No, sir!" said one to me. "We are not Socialists. We are Industrialists".

The columns of the Daily People had it that Chairman Haywood had asked, and was given permission to retain the gavel with which the business of the convention had been conducted. If Mr. Haywood places a value upon such things he should hunt up and keep the original gavel as a souvenir. This was a piece of pine-board, evidently torn from a packing-case, and with it the convention was opened. The Shurtleff gavel did not come into play until some time later.

The heart of every member of the S. T. and L. A. and S. L. P. in the convention must have swelled with pride upon hearing the magnificent tribute paid by Debs to the work of the Alliance: a tribute qualified, it is true, with a reference to a too-ardent desire upon our part to uncover the fakir, which desire, said Debs, sometimes led to exhibitions of fanaticism and made us see the fakir where he was not. Comrade De Leon, in his speech, adverted to Debs' remark anent fanaticism, and asserted that the preceding speaker, should he take up the work of the new organization, would be called a fanatic by the men who had thus termed the members of the Alliance.

How quickly De Leon's words came true! But a day or two after that Trautmann told me that charges had been preferred against him in the S. P. because of his work in connection with Industrial Unionism. He had become a fanatic and the Hayes, the Bergers, the Maillys, rushed forward to verify our oft-repeated assertion that the mission of these men is to conserve the interests of the A. F. of L. through the S. P.

And now comes Victor L. Berger with a declaration that the preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World is "the desperate scheme of desperate schemers"—how familiar that sounds!—and that he is "very sorry that the name of Eugene V. Debs is connected with it"! Poor Debs! He, too, is in process of becoming a fanatic.

I, for one, am glad that the line is being drawn and that the man who claims to be a Socialist must make good on the industrial as well as the political field. Such a condition will tear the cover from the charlatans and make clear to the workers who are, and who are not, their friends.

And now a little secret. It has long been known in select circles of the A. F. of L. and its political reflex, the S. P., that the S. L. P. and S. T. and L. A. were "dead", "defunct", "discredited", "moribund", etc. I can assure our candid friends that it isn't so. We were at Chicago in force and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, neither Kangaroo nor coroner sat upon us, and that, furthermore, when it comes to the upbuilding of the working class movement, our party will be, as of old, a "noxious nuisance" to those who have so long traded upon the ignorance of the workers.

The entrance and stairway to Brand's Hall occupied, to the hall itself, much the same relation as the "Curb" occupies to the Stock Exchange. In the convention the attendants were held rigidly to the business before the house, but no such restrictions were laid upon the valiant disputants ranged in the entryway. There earth and heaven and hell were dragged for subjects and men to whom the S. L. P. was "too slow to catch a cold" urged forward the lagging cause of Labor by debating such questions as What is tissue? What is space? Of course, in the settlement of these things lies the emancipation of our class. But all the arguments were not of this description. It was my good fortune to overhear part of a discussion between Frank R. Wilke, our well-known Milwaukee comrade, Ross, a delegate to the convention and an S. P. man, Albert Ryan, of the W. F. M., and a number of others whose names I cannot recall. Wilke referred to certain individuals as being "A. F. of L. Socialists", to which Ross replied "I know of none such. Name them!"

"Certainly," answered Wilke, "Berger and Hayes, to name no others."

"Didn't Berger say to Gompers, at New Orleans, 'I'd dethrone you if I could'?"

"Yes," replied Wilke. "Yes, he SAID that, but what did he DO? Did he not make a motion to raise Gompers' salary? A queer way to dethrone a man by inproving his position."

This ended the argument on that score.

In Chicago the best element of the S. P. was represented, and between it and the members of the S. L. P., so far as I could judge, the feeling was excellent. A little more time in which to grasp the fact that the clatter between the Hayes element and that represented by Gompers in the A. F. of L. means nothing more, so far as Hayes and his crowd are concerned, than to prove that they are better pure and simplers than is Samuel himself, and many who have hitherto looked askance at us will find their true place. In this connection I may say that shortly before the convention opened, Max Hayes, in apologizing to his chief for the fact that certain members of the S. P. were strongly for Industrial Unionism, attempted to palliate this awful crime against "unionism" by those whom he is expected to lead around by the nose, by stating that "practically all the leading Socialist papers of the country, including the New Yorker Worker, the daily Volkszeitung, the Toledo Socialist, the Social Democratic Herald of Milwaukee, St. Louis Labor, Milwaukee Wahrheit, and a number of others have been outspoken in this opposition to the new industrial union, while others have taken no stand because they were not interested in the controversy." In the foregoing we have a perfect picture of the S. P. as it stands to-day and if this be not sufficient to put an end to all illusions as to the character of the elements that control that party, then the mental condition of the membership is beyond hope. "A number of others have not been interested in the controversy". Think of It! With repeated demonstrations of the falsity of the principles of pure and simple unionism constantly before them and with piled-up evidence as to the corruption of the leader and the degradation of the follower that inevitably arise out of a shutting of the eyes to the fact that the interests of Capital and Labor are not identical, it is shown by one who should know that that part of the press which is not actively engaged against Industrial Unionism has taken no stand in the matter because it is "not interested in the controversy"; and this at the very time when the progressive element in the working class is striving with might and main for the upbuilding of a labor union that shall be such in deed as well as in name!

The straddler, too, was present in the convention, and the look on his face denoted that he could be happy with either dear charmer away. He could swallow the A. F. of L., Gompers and all, were it but seasoned with a little S. P. relish, and he could swallow the Industrial Workers of the World, had he not before him the scowling face of Mailly and the classic outlines of Herron, with the thunders of Hayes and Berger rolling up in the distance. Under these circumstances it was only to be expected that the straddler could not show to advantage.

The second session of Wednesday, July 5th, was, to me, the most dramatic of all. The struggle between the element led by Coates and that which triumphed was still raging, but it was becoming increasingly evident that the revolutionary sentiment in the convention was too strong to allow the delegates to be manoeuvred into the launching of a slightly glorified A. F. of L., headed by men whose records, abilities, and tendencies were not such as to inspire confidence for the future. Prior to this, President Moyer had objected, because of Coates' tactics, to "the sneering way in which the speaker referred to the work of the Committee on Constitution". Coates' method of fighting I would say, is not that of a man: it has a suggestion of the tomcat. T. J. Hagerty, who, as secretary of that committee, was instructed with the presentation of its work to the convention, was forced to object to Coates' method of reading the report, on account of the latter's trick of interpolating the work of the committee with remarks of his own, to the mystification and misleading of the delegates.

As Coates proceeded with his speech, the hostility of the delegates became increasingly apparent, and was marked by a flow of questions from the floor such as had not been presented to any other speaker. Still, Coates was not treated to any discourtesy, and was permitted to present his case to the best advantage.

Toward evening the note deepened. Haywood left the chair temporarily and was replaced by Sherman. Upon the chairman's return, Sherman planted himself close to the speaker, and, just before the hour of adjournment, propounded a series of paralyzing questions. Then Haywood, with face flushed and hair disarranged, came in with questions of his own, and these, with what had been asked from the floor, made it apparent that the plan proposed by Coates meant the transformation to the new union of the worst features of the old.

At adjournment, Coates held the floor, and, as a consequence, opened the debate next morning, but as far as he was concerned, the thing was all over except the shouting. He was defeated and organization, such as it is, came into existence.

Before going on to the next phase, I wish to say that it remained for A. M. Simons to make the most ridiculous argument against the plan submitted by the Committee on Constitution. He spoke scathingly of the "unlucky" 13th division.

I shall make no apology for what follows and my excuse is that it seems to be needed.

I am averse to the dragging in of extraneus and personal matter, still as some curiosity has been expressed as to the antecedents of the man who led the reactionaries in the convention and who plainly intimated by word and deed that, if the new organization were not to his liking, he would head a movement looking to the establishment of one that was, I think it well that the method by which Mr. Coates became Lieut.-Governor of Colorado be ventilated here.

In 1900 the parties committed to the glorious and immortal cause of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at a ratio of 16 to 1, which has since died, effected a fusion; that is to say, the gangs in control of the Democratic, the

(Continued on page 6.)

FEAR DISCUSSION.

Pittsburg "Socialists" Do Not Wish Their Bogus Concern Exposed.

Pittsburg, July 30.—The following copies of letters will explain themselves:

Pittsburg, Pa., June 26, 1805.

Dear Sir.—On May 30 we sent a communication to you, of which the following is an exact copy:

"Pittsburg, Pa., May 30, 1905.

"To the members of the Socialist Party.

"Dear Comrades:—At the last regular meeting of Section Allegheny County, the Socialist Labor Party, I was instructed, by resolution, to make the following proposition to your county organization, to wit: That your organization designate some one (or more) of your papers as your official organ and mail it (or them) to our headquarters, No. 2109 Sarah street, S. S., Pittsburg, Pa., and we will mail to your address each week a copy of the Weekly People.

"Both organizations to read ,study and mark any and all articles (of any kind whatsoever) or anything else that may appear in these respective organs; and, once each month, at some date agreeable to both organizations, we will hold a joint meeting for the purpose of discussing the marked papers and the Socialist Movemeat in all of its many and varied phases.

"The time has come in the history of the Socialist Movement when all real Socialists must get together and all unreal Socialists must step aside.

"Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience, and, also, that you are prepared to have your committee meet our committee for the purpose of perfecting arrangements, we remain, yours for the revolution,

"(Signed) Section Allegheny County,
"D. E. Gilchrist, Organizer."

Not knowing the name of the executive officer of your organization we sent this communication together with an envelope stamped and addressed by our organization, together with an addressed postal card, to one of your members (George A. Stockdale) with the request that he acknowledge receipt of same on enclosed postal card, and see that it was placed in the hands of the proper person.

To this Stockdale replied as follows:

"Pittsburg, Pa., June 1, 1905.

"D. E. Gilchrist,
"48 Washington Ave., P'g'h, Pa.

"Dear Comrade:—I received your communication this morn. Will say I will deliver it to the proper parties at the County Committee, which will meet at Paper Hangers' Hall, Sunday 2 p. m., June 4, to which you and any member of your organization are respectfully invited to attend, and it will be the means of creating closer fellowship and good will; also, that it will show that everything one hears is not essentially correct. I received the mailing list of the Appeal to Reason, and your name is not on. I wrote you a card asking you if you got the paper. Please let me know, the new address may be the cause. Yours for co-operation,

"(Signed) G. A. Stockdale.
"809 Main street, Allegheny, Pa."

A few days later we received the following letter:

"Socialist Party of Allegheny County,
"County Committee.
"Pittsburg, Pa., June 5, 1905.

"Mr. D. E. Gilchrist.

"Dear Sir and Comrade:—Your communication in reference to holding discussion meetings between your organization and the Socialist party, was handed to me by Comrade Stockdale, at the last meeting of this committee held yesterday. I beg to inform you that it was read and on motion it was ordered filed and the secretary instructed to acknowledge same. With best wishes, I am, yours fraternally,

"(Signed) Fred L. Schwartz,
"Secretary."

This correspondence was read at the meeting of Section Allegheny County, the Socialist Labor Party, held yesterday, the 28th instant, and I was instructed to answer as follows:

"That your answer is a manifest evasion of the proposition made by us in our communication, and one, therefore that we cannot accept as final.

"We feel that the rank and file of your organization would not consent to such a reply being made to a proposition, couched, as was this one, in a language so plain, and a spirit so fraternal, that he must be dull indeed who would acquiesce in the note that came from your pen in reply.

"Your Mr. Stockdale informed us that we need expect no further reply to our communication, as, to use his very words, 'there was no use in the Socialist Party bothering with that BUNCH.'

"We, therefore, insist that your organization state, officially, whether or not they are willing to meet us in joint meetings, as requested in our letter of the 30th ultimo.

"Awaiting your reply, we are, as ever, yours for the emancipation of the Working Class,

"Section Allegheny County,
"D. E. Gilchrist, Organizer.
"416 Washington Ave., Pittsburg, Pa.

"To
"The Socialist Party,
"Fred L. Schwartz, Secretary,
"Pittsburg, Pa."

Up to July 30, no answer had been received to this last letter."

D. E. G.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

One hundred and eighty-four subscriptions to the Weekly People and 114 to the Daily People were received during the week ending Saturday, August 5.

Fred Sibert of San Francisco sent in 16 Daily subs. John Farrell of Lowell, Mass., sent in 8 Weekly and 4 Daily subs. William Yates of Acushnet, Mass., sent in 6, and Lewis Herman of San Francisco 5, for the Daily. Harry Gunn of Schenectady, N. Y., sends in 6 Daily and 4 Weekly subscriptions.

Five or more for the Weekly People were received as follows: Section Boston 9; Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., 8; G. A. Jenning, East St. Louis, Ill., 7; Walter Goss, Belleville, Ill., 7; William I. Marshall, Pittsburg, Pa., 5; Ben Hilbert, Jr., Hamilton, O., 5; A. Rutstein, Yonkers, N. Y., 5.

We can still supply back numbers of the Daily People from July 24, containing the full convention report of the Industrial Workers of the World, with the exception of the issue of July 26, which is entirely exhausted.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

We got some good orders this week.

The largest order for literature during the past week came from National Organizer Frank Bohn, which amounted to $14.05. He is now working in Portland, Ore. B. H. Williams, another one of our national organizers, ordered $6.15 worth from Spokane, Wash.

William E. Cline, who is employed on a freight boat on the Great Lakes, writes from Conneaut, Ohio, that he has succeeded in getting ten other employes on the boat to buy a copy of "Woman Under Socialism." He remits ten dollars to pay for same.

Our Sections bought propaganda literature as follows: Boston, Mass., $4; Kansas City, Mo., $3.25; Schenectady, N. Y., $2.25; Kalamazoo, Mich., $1.30; Los Angeles, Cal., $1.50; Seventh Assembly District, Brooklyn, N. Y., $3.05.

James Lemmon of Moyie, B. C., took $3 worth of books and mixed pamphlets. There is no Socialist Labor Party organization in his town, but the work he is doing in circulating our literature will prepare the way for one.

Comrades J. J. Kinneally and Henry Jaeger of New York City went down to Honesdale, Pa., Saturday evening, July 29, organized a Section and got the new Section to take $3.66 worth of literature.

Numerous other smaller orders came in from various parts of the country. "What Means This Strike?" and "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" continue to be the most popular pamphlets, "Trades Unionism in the United States", "John Mitchell Exposed", "Socialism", by McClure and the Kautsky pamphlets are also ordered in quite large quantities.

SECTION CINCINNATI OFFICERS.

The following members were elected by Section Cincinnati, Ohio, as officers for the ensuing term: Organizer, Frank F. Young; recording-secretary, Charles O. Smith; financial secretary, Miss Katie Eisenberg; treasurer, Mrs. Lillian Henke; literary agent, William J. Young; sergeant-at-arms, William Henke; agent for German press and literature, Ferdinand Steinbach; agent for Jewish literature and press, J. Kossil; agent for English party organs, Frank F. Young; agitation committee, William J. Young, Charles O. Smith, Robert Thuman, J. Kossil, U. Singer and Max Eisenberg; auditing committee, R. Thuman, C. O. Smith and U. Singer; grievance committee, Max Eisenberg, J. Rossil and William Henke.

INDIANAPOLIS TICKET.

Section Indianapolis, at a convention held last week, placed in the field the following ticket for the city election this coming fall:

For Mayor—Theodore Bernine.
For City Clerk—John T. L. Remley.
For Police Judge—Henry Kuerst.
For Councilmen at Large—Harry Beck, Frank P. Janke, John Burkhardt, Paul F. Janke, Alexander Burkhardt, Charles Lagler.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

As Seen by A "Socialist" Party Member—Its Relation to the Socialist Movement.

The Socialist Labor Party members have always looked with longing upon the vast numbers of workers outside the organization; but the desire for numbers was always tempered by the knowledge that those who came without intelligence and honesty were a menace rather than a protection, or a means of healthy growth and agitation. Hence the Socialist Labor Party member became an untiring, uncompromising teacher, agitator and organizer who neither ran from his own conclusions or balked at those of others.

Now after a decade of the hardest kind of fighting, this little band of invincibles see the justice of their cause and tactics vindicated in the launching of the Industrial Workers of the World.

We, of the Socialist party (of various etcs., if you please), have compromised our party and the cause of Socialism in every imaginable way; we have followed the plan of being hail fellow well met with every one which eventually leads to destruction. Whenever the Socialist Labor Party protested against these betrayals of the working class we called them names and raised such a din that people thought our leaders were really dragging the car of progress behind them. But now the smoke of battle clears; the din is silenced by stern economic necessity and we see that all this time the Socialist Labor Party has been PUSHING the car forward and very often over obstructions formed by our blind and stumbling leaders; Robert Hoe, the printing press manufacturer, says: "Get behind a thing and push, don't try to get ahead and pull."

At this time, when freedom of speech is essential to the speedy and peaceful settlement of the labor question, the Socialist party member finds his much hawked "official" organs mum on the question of Industrial Unionism and his "editors" and "professors" acting as if they had charge of an infant class whose vital needs could be suppressed as so much imagination.

In our hour of need we are forced to turn to the Socialist Labor Party at the risk of being called traitors and knockers. While the stalwarts are busy fighting the pure and simple political and economic labor fakirs, a word to the rank and file of the Socialist party, and other readers of The People whose judgment of Industrial Unionism is apt to be warped by a misplaced, personal loyalty, should be sufficient.

For the moment let us drop the labor fakirs and consider industrial evolution in an impersonal way. Hard bone labor unsparingly applied used to be all important in every stage of the iron industry, or rather in every process through which the ore passes from the mine to the finished product.

With the personal factor cancelled it can be shown that each craft or branch of industry has been co-operating with every other branch to produce a better union of the whole. With the personal factor still in evidence and looking through the spectacles of the craft unionist the various branches of industry are seen to be engaged in a wholesale scabbery equalled only among the craft divided workers who "wont stick together."

Miners produce coal and iron only to see them run a gauntlet composed of their fellow workers after which they (the materials) return in the shape of labor displacing machinery.

The "rollers" and "heaters" in the steel plants sneered at the advent of the chemist in the midst of their theretofore exclusive domain and like the locomotive engineers they denied that any invention or improvement could dislodge them from their aristocratic position in the ranks of labor. In a comparatively short time, as time flies, the chemists' work bore fruit in the shape of the almost incredible improvements which this generation has seen in the methods and produce of iron and steel plants.

Perhaps the most wonderful output of the modern steel plant is the "high speed" steel which enables the machinist to run his tools at cutting speeds five or six times faster than was possible twenty years ago. As if in retaliation for the intensification of labor caused by this and by its own improvements the machine shop has sent forth into every nook and corner of the industrial world machines which have all but eliminated hand labor.

Those trades which, like wood-carving, sail-making, and shoe-making have not become obsolete are so cut up and simplified that it is a mere matter of courtesy to call them trades. Whether the craftsman, ostrich like, sticks his head in the mire of "pure and simpleism" or not he cannot long ignore the fact with which his boss is thoroughly familiar, that for all practicable (profitable) purposes the craftsmans' place can easily be filled by a little training applied to the craftsmen's wives and children.

Like boomerangs, the improvements which seem to originate in one industry and go forth to curtail the sphere of labor employed in another come sailing back with added power to dislodge the complacent craftsmen. Speaking of conditions in Milwaukee it may be recalled that one of the incidents of a misunderstanding between the Illinois Steel Company and the Amalgamated Association—"collective bargainers"—was the introduction of semi-automatic machinery, which enabled the company to dispense with the services of many of the old time aristocrats and replace them with a babel of negroes and "d——d furriners."

In 1901 at the conclusion of a controversy between the machinists and the Manufacturers' Association over a nine-hour day (?) the machinists were forced to return to work in what was practically an "open shop" where "high speed" steel and "independent" labor had free sway. During this seance the harmony of the sittings was rudely disturbed by the "sacred contracts" which kept the molders at work and bound the machinists' apprentices to a "legal" apprenticeship.

Almost forgetting our resolve to mention no names we were about to suggest that V. L. Berger could throw some light on the "labor troubles of '86 or thereabouts and the reason why the labor aristocrats in the E. P. Allis plant turned the fire hose on their striking fellow workers, "who are unfitted for self-government and economic independence anyhow." A wide gulf separates sound teaching and hurrah politics for revenue only.

Long strides toward solidarity have been taken since then, however, and during the "pure and simple" strike of the street railway employes at the close of the century for "one cent more an hour if you please" the class feeling of the workers enforced a complete boycott of the cars for three weeks.

All strikes at the polls or in the shop are as powerless to check the downfall of the craftsmen as were the efforts of our forefathers to perpetuate hand labor by smashing machinery. Direct self-government was impossible outside of towns until means of communication reached a high degree of perfection; direct self-government in the shop and in the state are impossible until we TAKE AND HOLD those shops and means of communication.

Until the time arrives when such action can no longer be postponed Industrial Unionism affords the best means of self-government and the Daily and Weekly People the best means of communication.

Those who ignore these facts as surely commit suicide as the person who would try to stop a thousand horse-power engine by interposing his body between the spokes of the fly-wheel and the sides of the pit in which it runs.

Socialist Party Member-at-Large.

FAILURE STATISTICS.

"Bradstreet's" report of failures for the week ending July 29 states that

"About ninety-three per cent of the total number of concerns failing had capital of $5000 or less and five per cent had from $5000 to $20,000 capital."

While these figures show the greater inability of men of small capital to succeed, as compared to men of large capital, they also suggest a line of thought regarding the statistics of failures that is worthy of consideration. These statistics are often taken as a barometer of prosperity. According as the number of firms and corporations succeed or fail in business, is the middle class, and the Working Class, from which they spring, in the scheme of capitalist evolution, said to be waxing or diminishing in power and wealth, at the expense of the ultra-capitalists. This barometer was, in the days of small production, when firms and corporations were identical with the individuals after whom they were named, or in whose names they were incorporated, a good barometer, because then it approximately registered the number of men who were actually getting on or failing in business. But in these days of large production when a comparatively few capitalists or banking concerns operate a very large number of firms and corporations under a wide variety of names and in a wide variety of fields, nay, even countries, such a barometer is no longer of value. It hides the real nature of things in that it fails to show how great is the increase of ultra-capitalist wealth and power, as compared to the decline of the economic opportunities of the middle and the working classes. To one who thinks it over, the statistics of failures appear more deceptive than helpful as a barometer of economic class growth and decline in this country.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

VEAL IN NEW ENGLAND

Begins Tour of Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts At Hartford, With Good Meeting.

Hartford, Aug. 5.—Recognizing the fact that the barriers of prejudice have been broken down. And since the launching of the Inrustrial Workers of the World, that the lines have been laid out so clearly and distinctly that the working class can readily understand our position when laid before them, we, the Socialist Labor Party of Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts, have secured the services of Comrade Philip Veal, of Illinois, as organizer and solicitor for the Socialist Labor Party and its press. The New England states thus show that they are alive to the class feeling that is so rapidly developing in America. Veal opened up here.

The other night, Section Hartford, Socialist Labor Party, held an open air meeting on Trumbull street. When we arrived there, six fakirs were selling patent medicines. They had a fine crowd, which was to our advantage, for they gradually lost them, while we gained them.

The platform was set up and Comrade S. Stodell acted as chairman; and, in an able and comprehensive manner, showed the workings of capitalist society. He drew a comparison between the chattel and wage slave. Many of the audience approved—they were wage slaves. Then Stodell showed that in order for the working class to accomplish their own emancipation they must read and study the literature of their own class, and organize on the industrial field in the Industrial Workers of the World, and on the political field in the Socialist Labor Party. Stodell then introduced Comrade Veal and, amid applause, descended from the platform.

Veal took for his subject, "The Industrial Workers of the World." He showed that the trades union of the A. F. of L. type is a thing of the past, like the ox cart, and must give away for industrial unionism. In order to compete with the capitalist system the workers must organize on class and industrial lines. Such a union has been launched in Chicago and is called "The Industrial Workers of the World."

Veal showed that when they (the trades unions) did win a strike and got a few cents raise, their cost of living was also raised and that they were worse off in the end than when they began.

When the meeting was thrown open for questions, Veal received several. One was "Why is there no label on your literature?" Veal in answer showed that the A. F. of L. label is a capitalist and not a working class device, in that it raises prices and profits, but not wages. Veal took for an illustration, the John Mitchell label on the shoes sold in the mining districts. A miner is shown two pairs of shoes, one with and one without the label. The one with the label costs $1.00 or $1.50 more than the other. It is "union made." The miner is a union man and he wants union shoes. He is also told that the shoe dealer must keep the other pair for the farmer, who wants a cheap shoe. Practically the shoes are the same. In many cases the pair without the label is the better. The buyer is paying the $1.00 or $1.50 for the label, which is issued to the manufacturers by the Tobin union, regardless of conditions existing in the shoe factory, and for the purpose of insuring profits to the employer.

Another question was "What do you mean by cockroaches?" Veal showed that it was not the cockroaches that were sometimes found in a wage slaves soup that are meant, but the small capitalists who try to compete with the larger ones, and who, though they find their feet slipping from under them in the competitive struggle, still want to remain on the backs of the working class.

The meeting closed at 10.30 p. m. with from 200 to 300 in the audience.

Another meeting was held at Park and Broad street the next night. It was likewise opened by Comrade Stodell, who was again followed by Comrade Veal. Veal laid clear the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World and exposed the A. F. of L. He showed that the only working class papers are the Daily and Weekly People. He made known the fact that they were the only papers that defended the "L" and subway strikers.

When the meeting was thrown open for questions, a few aristocrats of labor tried to controvert the speaker's statements, but they got a few answers that made them think the matter over. One especially tried tocreate a disturbance but he was hissed and laughed at by the crowd, when he was shown up as a scab who scabbed it on the brewery workers in this city in their last strike. There was a good quantity of literature sold.

C. A. Breuer.

BOOK LIST

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American Farmer	$ 03
Behind the Scenes	05
Burning Question of Trades Unionism, The, De Leon (English, Yiddish)	05
Class Struggle, Karl Kautsky	05
Capitalist Class, Karl Kautsky	05
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels	10
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels, Danish and Norwegian	15
Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science, Frederick Engels	05
Erin's Hope, James Connolly	03
Factory Work, Morris	03
Historical Materialism, Engels	05
John Mitchell Exposed, Robt. Randell	05
Life of Engels, Karl Kautsky	10
Mark, The, Frederick Engels	05
Money, De Leon	03
Ninth Convention S. L. P.	10
No Compromise, Liebknecht	10
Party Press, The, Illustrated	25
Reform or Revolution, De Leon	05
Reform or Revolution (Italian)	05
Religion of Capital, Lafargue	05
Right to Be Lazy, Lafargue	10
Science and the Worker, Ferdinand Lassalle	25
Socialism and Evolution, Dr. H. S. Aley	05
Socialism: What It Is, Liebknecht	10
Socialism vs. Anarchism, De Leon	03
Socialism, Wm. Scholl McClure	05
Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance vs. the "Pure and Simple" Trade Union, De Leon-Harriman Debate	05
Socialist Republic, Karl Kautsky	05
Taxation	05
Tenth National Convention Report, S. L. P.	50
Trades Unionism in the United States, Justus Ebert	05
Tragic Pages, From the History of Strikes Among the Miners	05
Trusts, The	05
Two Pages from Roman History, Daniel De Leon	15
Value, Price and Profit, Karl Marx	15
What Is Capital? Lassalle	05
What Means This Strike? De Leon	05
What Means This Strike? (German)	05
What Means This Strike? (Italian)	05
What Means This Strike? (Yiddish)	05
Working Class, Karl Kautsky	05
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Paris Commune, Lissagaray	50
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KEEPING IT UP.

Chicago Industrial Workers Hold Another Good Meeting at Their Headquarters.

Chicago, August 5.—The Industrial Workers' Club of Chicago held another overflow meeting last Friday night, which was addressed by Duncan McEachern of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, and several other able speakers.

The meeting was called to order by Brother Charles E. Adams, who made an impressive talk on the essentially economic character of the Industrial Union Movement.

A striking proof of the value of The People in the educational work of Industrial Unionism was afforded in the statement of three new applicants for membership that by reading The People they found out the address of the headquarters of the Industrial Workers' Club of Chicago, namely 3637 State street, and convinced by the clear and forcible explanations of Industrial Unionism as set forth in its columns, were moved to apply for admission into our ranks.

Tullar, from the Machinists, spoke at length on the question of phraseology as indulged in by philosophical phrasemongers and pointed out the necessity of talking to the Working Class in its own language.

Quinn, from the Street Car Workers, concurred in what Tullar said and stated that his interpretation of Socialism was that it meant social action, and that the Working Class would act socially for themselves along the lines of adequacy and least resistance to achieve their emancipation.

After Quinn concluded, a non-member arose and proceeded to flay Industrial Unionism and Industrial Unionists. He indulged in a lengthy defense of bargain counter, political party, job hunting, municipal ownership, and middle class Socialism, as represented by an aggregation of bunco steerers and lawyers. This tirade met with the most abiding attention until he finished, when Mrs. Forberg, a member, arose and informed the 2x4 celebrity that his cheap political rot was unmarketable in our camp.

Brothers Weissberg, Thurston and Bohlman also participalted in the discussion.

Regular meetings will hereafter be held at 3637 State street every Sunday evening instead of Friday evening.

Mark Bartlett, Sec.

WEEKLY PEOPLE
2, 4 and 6 New Reade St., New York.
P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 Franklin.

Published Every Saturday by the Socialist Labor Party.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York postoffice, July 13, 1900.

Owing to the limitations of this office, correspondents are requested to keep a copy of their articles, and not to expect them to be returned. Consequently, no stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172

Riches are not gotten by labor, but by causing others to labor.
—LAFARGUE.

TOWARD CLARIFICATION.

Yesterday's mail brought the below letter, to which we take pleasure to give editorial place and answer:

Skowhegan, Me., July 31, 1905.

To the Editor of The People.

Dear Comrade:—Although I am of the type you term Kangaroo, yet I desire to express my personal sentiments on a question which I believe should no longer be delayed—that of a thorough unification of the Revolutionary Socialist forces in the political field. I believe the Socialist movement has now reached a stage of development where an equitable basis of unity would mean a mighty revolutionary force, that would greatly hasten the day of working class emancipation from the slavery of capitalism. As there is but one Proletariat we need but one Party to represent the Proletarian interests. How a unity could be brought about, having for its motto, "No Compromise with the Common Foe", and a program of principle and tactics that would forever keep the eyes of the worker trained in the class interest of the working class, is a question for discussion and should be thoroughly discussed at once in order that a better understanding could be reached by the rank and file of both parties. I don't for a moment question the economics or tactics of the Socialist Labor Party, but I don't for a moment believe that either party will abandon the field as long as it can retain a foothold in any state in the Union. And if solidarity is to be accomplished by a war of extermination it means years of wasted effort that ought to be directed against the common enemy, the capitalist class. And do not the interests of our class demand that the real Socialists get together as speedily as possible and join hands and march in solid phalanx against the citadel of Capitalism? I believe division in the political field will retard the growth of the Industrial Workers in the economic field, especially in localities where party feeling runs high and prejudice against the Socialist Labor Party overcomes what should be their better judgment. Political unity would remove the last vestige of doubt in the minds of some about the new Industrialism being an S. L. P. scheme to disrupt the Socialist party, and thus political unity would become a powerful factor in the overthrow of Gompersism.

Yours for solidarity and a Proletarian Revolution,

W. G. Hapgood,
Socialist Party candidate for Governor, 1904.

Our correspondent starts with an error; but we are delighted to see him finally land upon his feet.

It is an error to imagine that the term "Kangaroo" embraces him. It does not—neither him nor any of the men whom Eugene V. Debs drew into the Movement. The term "Kangaroo" applies only to a certain element now in his party. It applies to the stock-holders of the New Yorker Volkszeitung Corporation—a collection of usurious money-loaners, pluck-me-store keepers, lawyers who wanted jobs from pure and simple unions, placemen of Gompers craft bodies, and other such refuse of bourgeoisdom—who, together with their employes and other non-stock-holding but kindred elements, foregathered in a Bowery saloon on the night of July 10, 1899, and Kangaroo-like went upon their hind legs, pronounced themselves Section New York of the Socialist Labor Party, "deposed" all the Party officers, tried to capture The People by attempting to invade The People's office at midnight, but found the Party prepared for them and were kicked down stairs with bloody heads for their foolhardy impudence. It is this element, together with their kindred "intellectuals" and A. F. of L. placemen and expectant coffin beneficiaries outside of the city, all of whose existence was made more and more impossible within the S. L. P., and who took up the cry issued from the above named Bowery saloon,—it is that element that received and are designated by the term "Kangaroo". None other. This element has sought to stretch the designation over the Debs element, and in that way cover up their own tracks. Had our correspondent been on his guard he would not have been duped in the matter. The matter has been repeatedly and fully explained in The People.

As to the necessity for the "unification of the revolutionary Socialists" and for the "getting together of the real Socialists", our correspondent is absolutely correct, and, what must be still more pleasing to him, his ardent wishes are about to be realized, in fact are being realized now. The late Chicago convention spanned the chasm; by throwing the bridge upon the western pier (the Western Federation of Miners and A. L. U.) and the eastern pier (the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance), the Chicago convention built the solid road over which the "real Socialists", as our correspondent felicitously puts it, are marching now to join hands, and are joining hands in indissoluble fraternity—a fraternity too indissoluble to be any longer impaired by the dust of calumny with which the Kangaroo element, being essentially a Gompers or Civic Federation element, has sought to keep the Socialists estranged.

We say that the Kangaroo element is essentially a Gompers, or Civic Federation element. This is no figure of speech. Calumny alone can not build. What calumny can and does do is to plant itself upon a wrongful "principle", and then satisfy its own perverseness by giving the Wrong a chance through the vilification of the Right. The alleged "principle" upon which the Kangaroo planted himself and is still planted, is the fallacy that the Political Movement of Labor should have and has nothing in common with the Economic or Union Movement of the workingman. Two are the tests of intentional Wrong behind the mask of such "principle". The first is that the intentional wrongdoer can not choose but be found with his foot in his mouth, his conduct is bound to contradict his "principle"; the second test flows from the first, it consists in echoing brazenly the lies of the class that it pretends to mean to fight. The Kangaroo answers both tests, and strikingly, too.

As to the first we have seen the Kangaroo from the instant of the issuing of the Manifesto, howl against the proposed Industrial Union, declaring that it would impair their party. How could it if the political movement of Labor should not meddle with the economic?!?! It is obedient to this test that we find the whole Kangaroo privately owned press solid in sneering at the Industrial Workers organization, and echoing against it all the vilifications and misrepresentations, aye, even the hopes of the Civic Federation.

As to the second, test, which flows from the first, we find the Kangaroo of the land, now unmasked, openly sing the praises of Belmont's A. F. of L. The New Yorker Volkszeitung of yesterday, August the first, furnishes the latest and most brazen illustration of this edifying performance. It approvingly quotes its pet Ben Hanford as saying: "The fact must never be lost sight of that the A. F. of L. puts forth every effort to organize the working class"!!!!—the body that stands documentarily convicted of entering into contracts with employers not to organize competing shops, as the Tobin Boot and Shoeworkers does; the body that votes down anti-militia resolutions, as did the Hanford Typographical Union in national convention assembled, and thus winked at, if it did not condone the gatling-gunning of Unions on strike; the body whose Cigarmakers Union keeps out of its fold the bulk of the members of its trade, in short, and to sum up, the body whose President, the vice-President of Belmont, officially boasted of his organization having broken the Pullman, or railroad strike of 1894—that body is sought to be palmed off by the Kangaroo as the strenuous seeker after the organization of the working class!!!!

The test is complete. The false principle held the Socialists estranged, and calumny deepened the cleft. But Truth, even tho' crushed to earth, will rise again. In this instance the Truth was never allowed to be crushed to earth. Its colors were held up, unterrified by the Fighting S. L. P., and that Truth has asserted itself at Chicago. A political movement of Labor is but the political exhalation of the material fact of an economic organization. He who would have true Socialistm must stand upon true Unionism. The two are inseparable. Upon the Labor-betraying A. F. of L. no "real Socialists" can stand. Such can stand there only temporarily, until they discover their error. And when they make the discovery they speedily part company with the bogus, and turn to and proceed to build up a bona fide Union—as was done at Chicago—a solid foundation for the unification of the real Socialist forces.

The solid Socialist phalanx that our correspondent is eager to see formed is forming now. The road has been smoothed for its formation. East and West, North and South, THE REAL SOCIALISTS WILL BE UNITED—ARE UNITING.

THAT "PARISIAN WITTICISM".

Violent was the rage of some of the delegates at last year's national convention of the Guesde-Vaillant French Socialists, held in Lille, France, at the resolution introduced on the subject of the general strike. The matter had been debated during the better part of an afternoon, and a committee, consisting of Guesde, Lafargue and several others was appointed to draw up a resolution that should embody the sense of the convention. The resolution presented the next morning by the committee certainly did. But it failed to suit all the delegates. It contained a clause that "got upon the nerves" of some. That was the clause that referred to the general strike as "a strike, more or less general". This particular passage caused great irritation in some quarters. It was assailed as a "Parisian witticism". No wonder the words irritated some of the delegates. The "witticism", whether so meant or not, was a bit of caustic satire. It exposed the looseness with which the term "general strike" is generally used, and how a serious matter may be rendered the subject of ridicule by heedless use. The despatches that are now running in from St. Paul, Minn., on the telegraphers' strike on the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroads would have furnished Guesde, Lafargue and the talented delegate from Bordeau, who also took a conspicuous part in the debate, with forceful arguments in favor of the "witticism".

From St. Paul comes the news that the telegraphers on the above named roads are out on "a general strike"; simultaneous with that despatch, however, comes the tidings that "95 per cent." of the operators are out; and then that the roads are running on schedule time; and then, as if to cap the climax and add edge to the already edgeful enough witticism, that the companies have "locked out" the operators, and the President of the operators "has appealed" to the Presidents of the companies!

The general strike is the culmination of the Socialist Revolution. Revolutions are born like children, full shaped, and they don't "appeal". A partial general strike is as contradictory a term as piecemeal birth. When the hour shall have sounded for the general strike in America, it will not be the employers who will be locking out the employes, but the employes who will be locking out the employers. The scab stage, or crude stage, when an industry like that of the railroads can have its trains running "on schedule time", or on any employers' time whatever, and when the leaders of the "general strikers" appeal to the employer, is a stage of greenness, or unripeness, that precludes the bare idea of the general strike as completely as the first month's gestation precludes the idea of birth. As in the latter, so only abortion is possible in the former.

There is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous. The "Parisian witticism" concerning a "strike, more or less general" is being furnished with fresh swing by the locked-out and appealing telegraphers now on "general strike" on the on-schedule-running railroad lines of the North West.

HERE IS A GLASS TO THE DEAD ALREADY!

Lodge 477, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, had a banquet at Galesburg, Ill., on the 7th of last June. The affair takes up eight pages of this month's Magazine of the Brotherhood. Amid the flowing of wine, speeches were made. The Grand Master spoke; the Grand Secretary-Treasurer spoke; and, to complete the picture, an Illinois capitalist politician, the Hon. W. T. Irwin, spoke. The painting fills a broad canvas. Let us contemplate its details in order fully to appreciate the whole.

Grand Master John J. Hannahan spoke upon the mutuality of the "interests of our employers and our own", and proceeded to illustrate the point with ecstatic fervor by bringing out the circumstantial fact that $8,764,015 had been paid by the Union "to disabled members of the organization, and to widows and orphans".

Grand Secretary W. S. Carter must have considered that the Grand Master's presentation might have been made stronger. He amplified and underscored the latter's scoring. He rapturously added that "the larger portion of that nearly $9,000,000 HAS BEEN PAID WITHIN THE LAST FEW YEARS". Moreover, pages 286 and 287 of that selfsame issue of the Magazine emphasize the point by presenting the tabulated list of the death and liability claims paid during the month of June and the first two weeks of July. The list bears out the figures furnished by the Interstate Commerce Commission on the appalling slaughter of the railroad workers. Of the 162 cases tabulated on the list there is hardly one that is not directly traceable to the pestilential conditions in the trade, as at present operated by the capitalist class. The tables read like the report of a bloody battlefield, or a pest-infected region. Within six weeks, the capitalist pest claimed no less than 162 victims in deaths and mutilated humanity!

One more detail, and the painting is complete. The Hon. W. T. Irwin, holding high the wine-cup in his tremulous right hand, and traveling his eyes over the assembled candidates for death and mutilation gathered at the festive board of those locomotive firemen, declared in a transport of exultation:

"The men at this table to-night in ten, twenty or thirty years will undoubtedly be superintendents, vice-presidents and presidents of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad"!!!!

About fifty years ago, when the famine-wrought pest swept over India, and carried its devastations into the tents of the British soldiers, the delirium of recklessness seized the latter. Festive boards, arranged by the British officers, at which the fear of imminent death was drowned in flowing bowls, became general, and a wierd bacchanalian song—a song, the first line of whose refrain heads this article—sprang up; nor were the army chaplains lagging who, cup in hand, fell in line with the prevailing frenzy, adding to it the theologic vista of approaching Paradise. What else than wholesale death and mutilation of the rank and file of the locomotive firemen is represented by "that nearly $9,000,000 paid within the last few years"? What else than the (under the pest of capitalism) impending death and mutilation of the rank and file are these "Grand Officers" exalting in toasts? What other than the American counterparts of those British military lackeys in India of the cannibal capitalist class in Britain are the Grand Masters Hannahan and Grand Secretary-Treasurers Carter? What other than the American clerical counterparts of those British chaplains in India are the Hon. W. T. Irwins, who seek to fuddle the to speedy death or mutilation condemned locomotive firemen with the Paradisaical intoxicant that "in ten, twenty or thirty years they will undoubtedly be superintendents, vice-presidents and presidents" of railroad companies? What else are such speeches from our Grand Officers and politicians but the American adaptation of that old song once sung in India and the refrain of which ran:

> "Here is a glass to the dead already,
> "And one to the next who dies."

MINUETING AT OYSTER BAY.

"Sergius Witte and Baron Rosen, the Russian peace envoys, and Baron Komura and Minister Takahira, the envoys of Japan, will be presented to each other on Saturday morning by the President of the United States at Oyster Bay.

"The meeting will take place on the deck of the naval yacht Mayflower.

"The plenipotentiaries of the belligerent nations will leave this city at 10 o'clock on Saturday and proceed to Oyster Bay aboard the United States cruisers Topeka and Chattanooga. The President will await them on the Mayflower.

"After, the introduction the Russians will remain aboard the Mayflower. The Japanese will go to the Dolphin, which is to be anchored nearby, and then the two delegations, convoyed by the Topeka and Chattanooga, will make a leisurely voyage to Portsmouth, N. H., where their conference is to be held."

This is a sample of the owlish-grave style in which the bourgeois "democratic" press of bourgeois "republican" America is reporting the farce-comedy of the pending Japanese-Russian peace conference. Satirizing a 17th century minuet performance similar to that at which the redoubtable Roosevelt is now beating time, Macaulay said:

"There was a long dispute about the place where the conference should be held. The Emperor proposed Aix-la-Chapelle. The French objected, and proposed the Hague. Then the Emperor objected in turn. At last it was arranged that the ministers of the Allied Powers should meet at the Hague, and that the French plenipotentiaries should take up their abode five miles off at Delft. Half way between Delft and the Hague is a village named Ryswick; and near it there stood, in a rectangular garden, which was bounded by straight canals, and divided into formal woods, flower beds and melon beds, a seat of the Princes of Orange. The house seemed to have been built expressly for the accommodation of such a set of diplomatists as were to meet there. In the center was a large hall painted by Honthorst. On the right and on the left were wings exactly corresponding to each other. Each wing was accessible by its own bridge, its own gate, and its own avenue. One wing was assigned to the Allies, the other to the French, the hall in the center to the mediator. Some preliminary questions of etiquette were, not without difficulty, adjusted; and at length, on the ninth of May, many coaches and six, attended by harbingers, footmen, and pages, approached the mansion by different roads. The Swedish minister alighted at the great entrance. The procession from the Hague came up the side alley on the right. The procession from Delft came up the side alley on the left. At the first meeting the full powers of the representatives of the belligerent governments were delivered to the mediator. At the second meeting, forty-eight hours later, the mediator performed the ceremony of exchanging these full powers. Then several meetings were spent in settling how many carriages, how many horses, how many lackeys, how many pages, each minister should be entitled to bring to Ryswick; whether the serving men should carry canes; whether they should wear swords; whether they should have pistols in their holsters; who should take the upper hand in the public walks, and whose carriage should break the way in the streets. The Imperial ambassadors claimed a right to sit at the head of the table. The Spanish ambassador would not admit this pretension, and tried to thrust himself in between two of them. The Imperial ambassadors insisted on having a room to themselves in the building, and on having a special place assigned to their carriages in the court. All the other Ministers of the Confederacy pronounced the demand altogether inadmissible; and a whole sitting was wasted in the childish dispute. The chief business of Harlay and Kaunitz was to watch each other's legs. Neither of them thought it consistent with the dignity of the Crown which he served to advance towards the other faster than the other advanced towards him. If therefore one of them perceived that he had inadvertently stepped forward too quick, he went back to the door, and the stately minuet began again. The ministers of Lewis drew up a paper in their own language. The German statesmen protested against this innovation, this insult to the dignity of the Holy Roman Empire, this encroachment on the rights of independent nations, and would not know anything about the paper till it had been translated from good French into bad Latin. In the middle of April it was known to everybody at the Hague that Charles the Eleventh, King of Sweden, was dead, and had been succeeded by his son: but it was contrary to etiquette that any of the assembled envoys should appear to be acquainted with this fact till Lilienroth had made a formal announcement: it was not less contrary to etiquette that Lilienroth should make such an announcement till his equipages and his household had been put into mourning; and some weeks elapsed before his coachmakers and tailors had completed their task. At length, on the twelfth of June, he came to Ryswick in a carriage lined with black and attended by servants in black liveries, and there, in full congress, proclaimed that it had pleased God to take to himself the most puissant King Charles the Eleventh. All the ambassadors then condoled with their brother on the sad and unexpected news, and went home to put off their embroidery, and dress themselves in the garb of sorrow", etc., etc.

So far as our bourgeois journalists, who are filling the columns of their papers with the minuet of etiquette to be observed at Oyster Bay, and then at Portsmouth, are concerned Macaulay lived, and wrote, and died in vain.

THE WHY AND THE WHEREFORE.

It is not now any longer a matter of more or less reliable, more or less unreliable information what a bunch of the elite of the capitalists has been up to in the Equitable Life Assurance Society. The matter is now in official form under the seal of the Attorney General in the restitution suit that he has instituted. From Depew down or up, the defendants in the case are the flower of elitedom; and the following are some of the "virtues" that they are charged with:

"Habitual and continuous wrongful, improper and illegal acts";

"Acquiring to themselves and transferring to others, in violation of their duty, a certain profit and benefit";

The raising of loans, the Depew loan alone was for $250,000, "upon grossly inadequate security", and bidding in of the property at a foreclosure sale under the mortgage taken as security resulting in a "great waste and loss of the property of the society";

"Paying to themselves moneys that belonged to the policyholders";

Withholding from the policyholders "in violation of law" a sum "appropriating $10,000,0000"; etc., etc., etc.

And suit is now brought in behalf of these policyholders for restitution.

Just suppose that the Working Class were to bring suit for restitution, every one of the above charges would hold good against the whole Capitalist Class, the only difference being that the amount involved would be, not a paltry $10,000,000, but all the billions of the land—

Habitually and continuously wrongful, improper and illegal are the acts of the whole Capitalist Class against the Working Class;

The Capitalist Class stands convicted of acquiring to themselves and transferring to their ken, in violation of the commandment, Thou shalt not steal, the profit and benefit of Labor's toil;

The Capitalist Class raises forced loans—beside which the Depew loan of $250,000 is but a sneak-thief's haul—upon the sweat of the brow and the marrow of the workers, resulting in a great waste and loss of workers' lives and health;

The Capitalist Class pays to itself moneys that belong to the Working Class;

The Capitalist Class withholds from the Working Class in violation of human rights the patrimony of the Working Class—the wealth of the country; etc., etc., etc.

Just suppose such a suit for restitution were brought into the courts of the land. The Working Class plaintiff would be non-suited instanter.—Why? Just because the suit was brought into the wrong court. Civil courts have no jurisdiction in a criminal action for highway robbery: criminal actions must be brought in criminal courts: bread is baked in bakeries; not in shoe shops. Not in the courts—the fields of battle on the arena of which capitalists fight out their own squabbles—can the Working Class settle the issue of Restitution.

And that is the why of the wherefore.

"Marion W. Moor of Arizona, member of the executive board, has gone to Nome, Alaska, to install a local union of 1,500 members, that have asked for affiliation with the Western Federation of Miners."

"The members of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of New York have pulled their coats off and are working with a vim to build up the 'Industrial Workers of the World'. Mass meetings are being called and present indications are bright for reinforcements to the newly launched labor movement."

These two paragraphs from the Western Federation of Miners' organ, "The Miners' Magazine" of July 27, show the growth of the new organization both East and West. A giant ratification meeting is now being planned in New York city, as is also the consolidation of the American Labor Union and Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance forces.

Gov. La Follette's description of Rockefeller as a criminal who robs with many hands is very well put. So various are the capitalist undertakings in which he is interested, that Rockefeller does rob with many hands; but so also does every capitalist who is not a Rockefeller whose capital compells him to extend its ramifications in all directions, in order to safeguard and invest it, as the law of capitalist economics compells him to. The criminal polydexterity manifested by Rockefeller is not purely Rockefellerian. It is mainly capitalistic. Given the capitalist system of the individual expropriation of social production, with its resultant concentration of weath, and the many-handed criminal of the Rockefeller-type is bound to ensue. Rockefeller is Capitalism's most advanced capitalist and therefore its most conspicuous illustration. La Follette has hit his own precious system harder than he knew.

The New Yorker "Volkszeitung" Social Democratic Party, in flying a scab banner in Brooklyn, is not guilty of inconsistency, as some seem to believe. Its only sin consists in being found out and exposed by its friends, the pure and simple unionists, whose scabby misdeeds, especially in the Interborough strike, it has always upheld.

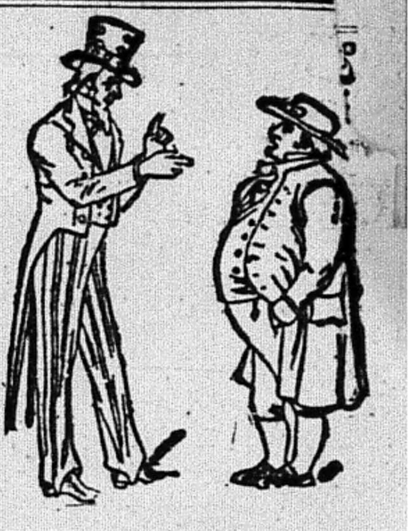
Our charming friend, Victor Berger, like Sammy Gompers, believes that the Industrial Workers of the World, consists of a couple of defunct organizations; and like Gompers he uses up columns of the "Wahrheit" and the "Social Democratic Herald", to reveal the fact that he doesn't believe his own statements. Berger and Gompers are a pair of pure and simple Dromios.

My! What a heroic bunch of graft punishers "our" Federal officers are! Led by the President, Attorney-General Moody and Sec'y. Wilson they are going to prosecute the Agriculture department grafters according to defective laws that will make punishment impossible! These heroic methods will make those employed in the Loomis and Morton cases look weak and cowardly in comparison!

What right have Corea or China to be considered in the peace conference? They are merely the bone of contention between two more "progressive" nations, and until they show their ability to deprive weaker nations of their rights, they will not possess any themselves! On with the conference!

Roosevelt's speech at Wilkesbarre, Pa., on Aug. 10, is going to prove a big lift to Mitchell in his efforts to hypnotize the working class in the interests of the capitalist class.

Press despatches state that Chinese negotiations for a new treaty are at a standstill. But the campaign in favor of Chinese coolie labor continues apace.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONAHTHAN—I must have been dreaming all my born days.

UNCLE SAM—Are you making discoveries?

B. J.—It almost looks that way to me. Just think of it: When I struck with my fellow switchmen in Buffalo to uphold the ten-hour law, Governor Flower, the Democrat, swooped down upon us with the whole militia of the State and gave the victory to the bosses who were grinding us down.

U. S.—So he did.

B. J.—Then I went to work as a 'longshoreman on the Erie Lake, and Mark Hanna, the Republican, cut our wages in two; and when we struck he knocked the stuffings out of us with policemen's clubs.

U. S.—Too true.

B. J.—And then I got a job as trainman on the Chicago & Rock Island Road, and when we demanded that our fellow men at Pullman be not treated as beasts of burden, good God, how didn't Cleveland, the Democrat, and Woods, the Republican, knock us into as many cocked hats with their soldiers and their gatling guns on paper, and how didn't the Republican Depews and the Democratic Whitneys approve of these, their transactions!

U. S.—Indeed they did.

B. J.—Now from all this I had drawn my conclusions.

U. S.—To what effect?

B. J.—To the effect that these capitalists were a lot of scalawags, who looked upon us workers as their legitimate beasts of burden, that had to be whipped blind if they roared or kicked.

U. S.—There are no flies on that conclusion.

B. J.—But here comes the puzzl

U. S. (looking around)—Where?

B. J.—Right here; the identical D cratic politicians who browbeat us fore are now making speeches in w they say: "There is no conflict betwe capital and labor. The interest of th workers are the interest of the employers. And it behooves us who are employes to resist with might and main the lowering of the wages of the working poor."

U. S.—That's very loving.

B. J.—And the identical Republican politicians who shot us and helped the bosses suck us dry are holding the same language.

U. S.—Looks like it.

B. J.—And aren't you puzzled?

U. S.—Whereat?

B. J.—At so much love pouring forth from quarters that otherwise only pour down oppression upon us?

U. S.—Not a bit.

B. J.—Well, which is which? Are these Republicans and Democrats our real friends or are they our enemies after all?

U. S.—Don't you remember that Scotch terrier that snapped and growled at you yesterday when you called at John Jones'?

B. J.—Blast the brute! I could have broken its neck.

U. S.—Did you love him?

B. J.—Not much, I did.

U. S.—And yet I overheard you addressing him in these endearing terms: "Good doggy, sweet doggy, pch, pch; come, come nice doggy!"

B. J.—What would you have me do? Growl at him and have him tear me all to pieces?

U. S.—Just what you did to John Jones' doggy is what these Republicans and Democrats are now doing to us. They have been treating us as dogs, using workingmen to satisfy their pleasures, skinning us, outraging us right and left. Now comes election time. They want to get into office—a sort of John Jones' house—where they will be able to carry on their system of fleecing us, each side of them, though wanting to get there to the exclusion of the other, so a to have our whole hide to itself. B now it so happens that there are o hundred workingmen's votes to those R publican and Democratic capitalists on and we workingmen are growing in the way, they need our votes to get in; th want to keep us from voting for ou selves and want us to vote for them.— Hence their present love. Hence we a now "good doggy," "sweet doggy," "ni doggy." Catch on?

CORRESPONDENCE

[CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.]

ECHOES ON SKOWHEGAN, MAINE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I offer the below suggestions as my best interpretation of the recent convention.

In to-day's editorial in the Daily People, if my heart knows its own atmosphere, we see the return to his familiar place of that grandly poised wielder of the Arm and Hammer whom we all venerate. His wisdom is what we love to follow rather than to oppose. But is it not exactly consistent with that stalwart enlightenment which lately has so often indicated, in the editorial columns of the Daily People, the rapprochement of the parties or membership of "the real Socialists," to suggest that we, as we think, of stalwart branch, should at this juncture take special pains to meet more than half way the very courteous and genuine proffers of friendship which have been openly expressed by men of such exalted standing in the Socialist party as the last candidate for the governorship of Maine and, under circumstances of final commitment, by even Mr. Debs himself!

In the said editorial it is proven that no radical or essential difference separates the S. L. P. and the S. P., excepting the traitorous Kangaroo clique, now in bad odor in the latter party itself, and with which difference the officers and body of the S. P., as such, can have no manner of cause. That party should suffer our stalwart mannerisms, and the S. L. P. should accept all genuine conservatism of the S. P., and neither should be an offense, but rather a subject of filial pride and glory, just as the different uniforms of different regiments fighting under one flag are not matters of contention but of loyalty and filial devotion.

And are not these elements to be best welded "when the iron is hot?" What apter occasion for the creation of a single Socialist party than the period which rejoices in the birth of a common economic organization?

Let Socialists get together in politics, as they are doing in economics. Let the terms of another Manifesto be considered—now, when it is most fit.

Alfred A. Coursen.

Huntington, L. I., August 2, 1905.

AN OPEN LETTER TO "SOCIALIST" PARTY INDUSTRIAL WORKERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The following letter is addressed to those members of the Industrial Workers of the World who still cling to the Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party.

Comrades:—It being a fact that we are now united in one economic organization and observing also the fact that this has been the wall that separated us in the past, namely, the trades union question, I call your attention to the fact that there is now no difference whatsoever between you and us. Three questions have separated us: Press question, trades union question, and the demagogical and outrageous tax question. I am glad to have observed that this latter fly-catching scheme, "the working class produces all wealth, hence it pays all taxes," and all the sophisms that this perilous clap-trap carries in its womb, is in the rank and file of the S. P. considered as an antediluvian farce and they are ashamed at ever having thought that way. Here and there you may find a sentimental adherent of Feigenbaum and the despicable Volkszeitung crew, who will leap like a jumping jack defending this "truth," but he is ridiculed by his own fellow-members. It is at least so with Local Cincinnati, and mainly so with our economic comrades of the I. W. of the W.

They also agree, you might say, to a man, that a party press is the only champion of a party. They had the experience with the Chicago Convention. The press of the S. L. P., which is a party press, was the only one that promoted and aided in sinking the foundation of this pride and ornament of the all-producing proletariat, from its incipiency up-to-date, whereas the individually-owned press of the S. P. had not backbone enough to stab in the heart or to face the organized horde of scabs, misnamed A. F. of L.! They agree now with us that a party press is a most urgent necessity. "An organism without an organ," one remarked to me, "is simply a caricature of an organism!"

And now, you belong to an organization which is ultimately (be not obstinate to confess) the outcome of the S. L. P.'s hammering for years. We organized the S. T. & L. A. You fanatically attacked it, ridiculed it. Now, however, times have changed! From the lips of all honest S. P. men nothing but words of praise and admiration for this small body of fighting revolutionists is heard, replacing the baseless feeling of blame and detestation, impregnated into their honest minds by a lot of crooks, who are in the labor movement only to graft all there is in it! Nearly every one agrees that all that talk about "De Leon's S. L. P." "De Leon's S. L. & L. A.," and all the past calumnies, gross misrepresentations and lies, heaped upon us, are criminal and injurious. They tell me that after seeing and hearing Comrade De Leon they cannot help admiring and loving him for his devotion to the proletaire; caused by giving it his life and genius and all that besmirching of this fighter for our class by their press, is purely criminal and they believe it no more!

Now, that we are all agreed upon all these three questions, now that the chasm of pure and simpledom and its fictio juris of tool aristocracy is already overbridged, what difference is there between us and you? Don't you see that you no more belong to that party which as a party upholds the bulwark against Socialism, the pure and simple enslavement of labor and sought to partly backslide and partly kill by conspiracy of silence the Industrial Workers of the World? Debs himself had to recognize the consistency, unity and determination of us "De Leonites."

Contemplating all these facts I appeal to you, now our economic comrades, to also become our political comrades, for this is where you belong after all! The enemy is strong and mighty because WE are divided. He laughs in his sleeve at our wrangles and seeks to "prove" the "incompetency" of the "uncultured workingmen."

Comrades of the I. W. W.! Join our ranks, the ranks of that party that will be a guide and example for the revolutions of the proletarians of all countries and help to liberate our countrymen, the proletarians of the globe, from the outrages, dishonor and thralldom of wage slavery, the last form of slavery in history, by tearing down the rotten building of capitalisism and erecting a new magnificent edifice, the Socialist Republic.

With Socialist greetings,
Henry Fuehrer.

Cincinnati, O., July 20.

PERSONAL WAYS FOR SPREADING SOCIALISM.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Since the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World indorsed all papers upholding Industrial Unionism, I will make a few suggestions to all who would like to see the influence of The People extended and, at the same time, ta present personally the prinples of revolutionary Socialism to their fellow slaves. I have worked along the lines that I am about to suggest, and I believe that it is the most effective work that such as I, who is neither a speaker nor writer, can do.

I have learned by working in this way that there are but very few working people (and others, too) who have not heard or read of Socialism. But although they have all read or heard about Socialism it is amazing how twisted their ideas are, due to the misrepresentations of capitalist papers and magazines, and "pure and simple" Socialists. There is no need for me to waste space as to what these ideas of Socialism that these millions of workingmen carry around are. You can see them for yourself and get an opportunity to drive some of them out and replace them with sounder ones.

Now to the point: Suppose a slave would say to you: "A Socialist is crazy. He wants to divide up and how long would it be before a few would have it all?" or that "The Socialists want to abolish the capitalist who supports the workingmen," or that "Socialism has nothing to do with trades unionism," or in short, show you by his utterances that his ideas are wrong, would you be able to set him right? If you would, you are neglecting your duty if you don't do everything you can to draw his ideas of Socialism from him and attempt to set him right. Of course, as a member of the working class, you would not be out of order if you should ask another workingman point blank how he stands on the wage slave movement.

But there is another way to open the question and that is to ask him to subscribe for the Weekly People. Whether you can get him or not your talk may have a good effect on him.

Wake up, comrades! Don't waste your time chatting among yourselves while other slaves stand in need of your light. Think this over and if you find this a good suggestion, take up the work and make up your mind never to let up.

Fraternally,
G. A. Jenning.

East St. Louis, Ill., July 18.

$30 A WEEK FIELDMAN MADE TO LOOK LIKE 30 CENTS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Though I do not intend to make a practice of reporting all open air meetings of the Sixteenth Assembly District, the meeting of Thursday, August 3, will surely interest the readers of The People, in that it shows the helpless position that the "Kangaroos" are finding themselves in, and their impotency in defending their party's position. They are like the moth that is destroying itself, by flying right into the fire.

The chairman opened the meeting and introduced Comrade Alexander, who made a brief but well chosen address. Comrade H. Jager was the next speaker. After making a clear-cut Socialist speech which lasted over an hour, upon the scene comes the "Socialist" party organizer, "Automobile-$30-per-week" Fieldman, and started to interrupt the meeting. Jager explained to the audience who the individual was, whereupon he shouted "You lie" repeatedly. Fieldman was given the platform for ten minutes to prove his assertion, and upon condition that he also explain the trade union position of his party. While he held the floor he was not interrupted by any of our members, and, of course, also not by his followers, of which there was quite a number.

Fieldman admitted every word which Jager remarked about his personality, for which he had called Jager a "liar." As to the trade union position of his party he said that they advised the working class to join the A. F. of H—ll, the American Labor Union and the Industrial Workers of the World, except the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, which is a "scab" organization. Of course, Fieldman gave no documentary proof to support these assertions.

When Jager remounted the platform and quoted a passage from Debs' speech at the Chicago convention, that the principles of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance are correct, its theory sound and its membership honorable, Fieldman said that Debs was ignorant. So desperate and restless did Fieldman become under the lashes of Jager's whip—the documentary proof of his party's scabby conduct, quoted from its own organs—that he kept constantly interrupting, much to the disgust of the audience. Fieldman at times became so violent that the officer was compelled to stand by his side and make him behave himself.

I do not wish to take up your valuable space, but I will say that Fieldman met his Waterloo, this being one out of many times that he has been defeated in debate by Jager. Jager made him look, in the eyes of the audience, which then numbered over 200, like the proverbial thirty cents.

Thirty signatures were secured for our petition lists; $1.00 worth of literature sold, and the meeting closed with three rousing cheers for the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World.

Fraternally yours,
Harry Dobzynski.

New York, August 3.

A GENTLE HINT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—On reading the Weekly People of July 29, I see from a report, that Section St. Paul, Minn., in eletcting its officers, has elected agents for various party papers, i. e., the Weekly People, Hungarian and German party organs. To this I wish to say something. I wish to remind all Sections, as well, as Section St. Paul, that we have a Jewish party organ, "Der Arbeiter". I see no reason why Sections throughout the United States and Canada, should not elect agents for "Der Arbeiter" as well, I believe that there are Jewish workingmen whom we want to reach and to whom we should expound the true Socialist principles, not only in New York, but in St. Paul and everywhere else as well. It is, therefore, my opinion, that the comrades everywhere shall take note and circulate "Der Arbeiter" as much as they can.

Fraternally yours,
Harry Liroff.

New York, July 28.

MAKING THE TYRANTS AND THE DESPOTS SHIVER.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Local Cincinnati, "Socialist" party, is on the war path. Very much after the fashion of our friend Shatzke, that organization is determined to "make the tyrants and the despots shiver"!

At the last meeting of the local, John P. Weigel, alias Giovanni Weigeloni, the "Socialist" who so bravely stepped into Trautmann's place as editor of the Brauer Zeitung, introduced the following resolution:

"Resolved, That we, the Socialists of Ward 12, Local Cincinnati, disapprove of party members furnishing material and the slaffage for the Socialist Labor Party slanderers and mudslingers and that the discussions having taken place with the aforesaid Party shall be discontinued, and members recommended not to participate.

"Resolved, That we disapprove of members patronizing and using the S. L. P. press for the purpose of slandering members of our organization inasmush as we consider same detrimental to the working class' political movement, and the Socialist party."

After the reading, there was a critical silence. Then a storm began to rage. The Socialist element wanted to know what they were to do, in case the privately owned papers of their party refused to publish official communications of the local that threw some light on the movement?

Truth loving Weigel arose and said: "There is no such a thing as a party-owned press, you are only told that the S. L. P. owns its paper. I believe, as a member of the Socialist party, that if you have any grievance whatsoever, the S. P. press will publish it. I think that our party press needs support, and by publishing your articles in S. L. P. papers you make those papers interesting."

You see, the gentleman is of the opinion that the stunts of his local are so remarkably interesting that no matter in what paper accounts of them are published, that paper's circulation is bound to increase! Ye backwood "editors" take notice!

There was a little more skirmishing and finally the reactionary element won out. That part of the resolution which pertains to the S. L. P. press was adopted. What the fate of the other part of the resolution will be, remains to be seen. It will come up later.

Several weeks ago, B. S. Frayne charged a member of Local Cincinnati with colleting dues and selling stamps to men whose names were not only unknown to the rank and file of the local, but even the Executive Board didn't know them. "If you don't like it, you can get out," was the answer of the accused. Frayne's charges were said to have been put in an "ungentlemanly" way, so both parties are still members of the local. The Editor of The People will give space to the accused and accuser to repudiate the statements made here.

Workingmen of the Socialist party, this is too serious a matter to be trifled with. If men can hold membership cards in your party without even the knowledge of the Executive Board, how do you know that some Pinkerton is not a member of your organization?

Katie Eisenberg.

Cincinnati, O., July 29.

P. S. The word "slaffage" which occurs in Weigel's resolution is new to me. I consulted several dictionaries and couldn't find it. The above copy is exactly like the original.

K. E.

"ALL FOR EACH AND EACH FOR ALL".

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the last few weeks or, in fact, all through the month just ending the comrades of the Forest City have been stirring things up a bit and feeling that an incident or two are worth narrating I decided to let outside members of the only fighting labor organization in the United States, the Socialist Labor Party, know what is transpiring at this place. We hold meetings every Saturday evening on the Public Square, and generally get a pretty good crowd. Just opposite our speakers' stand is Marshall's drug store, "the only one not in the trust". Our speakers' arraignment of the capitalist class, together with its envious understudy, the middle class, did not suit the Marshall, "not in the trust" people. Accordingly they protested to the police, several times but without avail, until Saturday evening the 22nd inst. A myrmidon of the law, in the shape of a new police officer to Public Square duty, was finally prevailed upon to inform us that we would have to stop our meeting. When asked why, we were told we were blockading the sidewalk and injuring the business of people opposite to us. No answer was vauchsafed when a query was put as to where we should go, so we decided to keep right on. The speaker was then arrested. Immediately another comrade mounted the rostrum, to be also told he was in the law's clutches; a third comrade then braved capitalist "law and order", and was also gathered to the law's bosom, all three men being given a ride in the city's beautifully painted coach drawn by two prancing steeds—the patrol wagon. Arriving at the city bastile, they were placed before the clerk, the charge of blockading a thoroughfare made against them, searched, and put into neat iron boxes for safe keeping. Bail soon was found however, and the three were released under the sum of $100 apiece. They came back and the meeting went on uninterruptedly. On Monday morning, the 24th inst. the case came up for trial, the comrades defending themselves. Marshall's people had to be subpoenaed and then one clerk appeared. The comrades, after cross-examining the witnesses, were discharged by the judge who remarked that there was no case whatever, insomuch as according to the testimony, we were at least ten feet from the curb.

On the same spot we held subsequent meetings, and be assured Marshall was not forgotten, nor his dirty contemptible clerks. Workingmen were taught that the Socialist Labor Party is an aggressive organization and they cheered our speakers when they mounted the platform; and demonstrated to Marshall and his lickspittles the galling truth that we will stand on our constitutional rights to the last ditch. They thought to bluff us but were greatly surprised to find that it did not go.

Last Saturday evening we held another successful meeting. Comrades Kircher, Gilhaus and Dinger speaking. Wrapt attention was paid our men, particularly when they dilated on the importance of industrial unionism. More pamphlets were sold than at any previous meeting, a fact that argues well for a sound and scientific exposition of the labor question.

The motto of Duma's Muskateers should be the motto of the toilers in their economic organization: "All for each and each for all".

Fraternally,
Proletarian.

Cleveland, O., July 31.

SURPRISING, INDEED!

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I recently sent the following letter to the Chronicle of this city:

"To the Editor of the San Francisco Chronicle: Sir, While as a Socialist workingman, I have no illusions regarding whose interests the Chronicle is a defender of, I was nevertheless wont to regard it as the fairest and ablest of the capitalist newspapers published on the Pacific Coast. Your article, however, in to-day's issue entitled 'The Socialists' is as insidius and hateful as the articles that appear daily in the Hearst news papers.

"It has always been an unswerving principle of the straight Socialist movement to exclude from membership beneficiaries of the foe, as by no other method could the movement be kept straight and above board. It is however a good omen that the scribes of the capitalist press should be everywhere engaged at present in attacking the Industrial Union movement; were it otherwise, one would be safe in concluding that the new movement bids fair to become as impotent, reactionary and treacherous as Gompers' A. F. of L.

"Your attempt to confound Industrial Unionism with Anarchy can deceive no one, not even yourselves, albeit you have endeavored to give the nostrum a new setting. Rabid Anarchism however, can be proven against the class for whom you write. Reams of paper would be required to contain the indictment that could be drawn up against the capitalist class in this regard, every count of which could be verified by documentary evidence drawn from the archives of public institutions. There is the suppression by armed force (at the instance of the late Gov. Flower), of the endeavor to enforce the ten hour law in New York state; the long tale of unlicensed crime perpetrated by the respectful Citizens' Alliance in Colorado last summer; and so on down to the less noted acts of brutality and suppression by the police and strike breakers during labor troubles which attract but local interest.

"All the foregoing you know to be true, Mr. Editor, and for this reason you won't publish this letter as you did that of the disgruntled Briton, who criticised you in a letter that appeared in your issue of Saturday. Briton's letter, apart from his stricture on the lack of manners among Germans, was true and well written. It was a deseration on truth, however, as she appears clothed in the full insigna of bourgeois honor and respectability, and with which therefore almost any labor skinner in the land could agree. The present effort on the other hand, although written by one of the smallest Davids in the army that will ultimately put a period to the reign and triumph of the Philistines, deals with a subject vital to the interest of the working class alone. Therefore a great capitalist daily cannot afford to print it. Their function is merely to spoonfeed the people, and, as when the sky pilots hold forth, there is no opportunity given for discussion nor to ask questions.

"Yes, Mr. Editor, your paper is great and powerful. But time at last makes all things even. Lies cannot live forever. Eventually their bluff is called. They are invariably returned to the tellers thereof like a dishonored cheque, marked 'no effects'.

"Ernest Lemmon."

Much to my surprise, the Chronicle printed the above, every word of it.

Ernest Lemmon.

San Francisco, Cal., July 28.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

J. J. M'K., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—There were two incidents. First the Seidenberg affair in 1898, and then the Davis, two years later. At Seidenberg's, the International Cigarmakers fakirs declared a strike; the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance men went out notwithstanding they had not been consulted; and then the fakirs made peace with Seidenberg, under worse conditions than they had before, but with a stipulation that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance men were to be excluded. The "peace" agreement brought out the fact that the strike had been, not against Seidenberg, but against the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. Two years later, the same fakirs tried the same game at Davis'. Here, however, they had to call a shop meeting to discuss the advisability of a strike. The shop being on open one, there were at that shop meeting Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance men, International men, and men of no union whatever. By an overwhelming vote, something like 91 against 17, the shop declared against a strike. Finding themselves foiled, the fakirs declared a strike anyhow, in violation of Union rules. The majority of the men thereupon joined the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance men and organized the shop into a closed Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance shop. In no instance did the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance take the places of men on strike. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance could not do that because it was not a Gompers' scab organization.

W. W. J., HELENA, MONT.—Read the pamphlet or speech "Socialism vs. Anarchism", published by the Labor News Company, 2-6 New Reade street, this city. There you will find described the species of the individualistic, individual-rulers'-head-chopping species in the capitalist as well as out of the Capitalist Class. His mental anatomy is there fully exposed. Between that species and the Socialist the chasm is unbridgeable.

C. J., NASHVILLE, TENN.—Has been fully explained in the announcements. The stenographic report, from the first word uttered at the Chicago convention down to the last, including the speeches made at the ratification meeting, will be published in the Daily People columns. It is now in course of publication. The order, however, of publication will not be strictly chronological. At the request of some of the delegates, it was decided to give the right of way to some of the leading episodes—first, the ratification meeting; second, the non-admission of lawyers; third, the four leading speeches on the cause of the convention; fourth, the debate on the preamble; fifth, the constitution. After this the report will be started from the start and carried out to the finish as fast as the reporter's transcript arrives. Owing to the limitations of space very much cannot be given at any one time. But that should not matter. The average man will not have time to properly read and digest what is published from day to day, if more were published at a time than is published now. The whole matter is of permanent, lasting and deep interest. Miss not a single issue.

E. W., DETROIT, MICH.—Spurn not anger. Hot anger makes good memories. With memories kept fresh, and a pulse beating high with anger at wrong, all that is needed is mental ballast for the Working Class to throw off the yoke of Capitalist. Without the latter, of course, the anger would be of no avail; without the former information would lie torpid. Anger is to knowledge what gunpowder is to the bullet—sets it in motion.

F. J., TOPEKA, KANS.—The International Socialist movement has its headquarters in Brussels, Belgium.

E. H., BUFFALO, N. Y.—Please find out the date of that Chicago document. It bears the ear-marks of a senile hand, and of having been imposed upon young men about a year ago. We would like to know whether it was issued since the Manifesto. We do not believe it was issued since the convention. Hardly!

E. J. E., WILMINGTON, DEL.—See above to E. W., Detroit, Mich. There is a maxim, and a true maxim withal, that to be able to keep angry six months is an essential quality for good citizenship.

S. M., NEW YORK—The lawyer in question was wholly excluded from the Chicago convention. The stenographic report on the subject, published in these columns, expressly says that the Saunders' motion was carried. That motion was for absolute exclusion.

F. A. G., PAWTUCKET, R. I.—First. Not minorities, but majorities stamp an organization's actions. This is especially so when the minority is small. The broad democracy of the Socialist Labor Party gave full space and a respectful hearing to those of its members who opposed the Chicago Manifesto and its purpose. The election of the Socialist Labor Party candidate to the Lynn convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance made clear where the majority of the Socialist Labor Party stood. The majority's action is the organization's action, and upon that an organization deserves blame or credit, as the case may be. None will more cheerfully admit that fact than the minority in the Socialist Labor Party, that minority being sturdily sane and democratic.

Second. When men who stood on the opposite side of the line adopt the principles of the literature spread broadcast by their quondam adversaries, the conclusion is fair that their quondam adversaries convinced them.

J. G. D., SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—For an accurate answer upon the question of how many American Federation of Labor Unions attended the Chicago convention, you will have to wait for that part of the stenographic report that gives the list of delegates and the organizations that accredited them. If speedier information is desired, apply to William E. Trautmann, general secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World, 148 West Madison street, Chicago.

A. G., NEW YORK—Long is the journey through precept; short and efficacious is the journey through example. Didst ever hear this principle before? Chew upon it. Vat is der use to preach anti-fakirism if you crawl on your belly before the fakir in your Union, and dare not call your soul your own, and must, by silence, seem to approve of his rascalities? Such example will destroy and annul all your preaching.

J. B., KALAMAZOO, MICH.—First. Presumably, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance locals that are reorganizing in the Industrial Workers of the World are doing so on the theory that they realize that instructions given to the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance delegation at the Lynn convention have been successfully carried out. The formal reorganization will not be officially perfected until some authorized person from the Chicago headquarters arrives here at the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance headquarters. This is expected to happen soon, and then the local Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the American Labor Union local bodies in this city will be reorganized into a District Council.

Second. Whatever Socialist Labor Party Sections may do in the matter of organizing I. W. of the W. locals can only be done unofficially. S. L. P. Sections are no agents of the Chicago headquarters.

Third. By "L. Saneals" probably Lucien Sanial is meant. The gentleman ceased to be the editor of The People thirteen years ago, in November, 1892

G. F. L., BOSTON, MASS.—The K. of L. reached the zenith of its strength in 1885-6. Impossible to answer other questions, that you put under this head, wth any degree of accuracy. The K. of L. declaration of principles was a jumble of emotionalism, into which any one read what suited him. The K. of L. official conduct was in keeping with the diffuseness of its principles. Next question next week.

H. S. H., NEW YORK—The exposure of the Niedermeiers and other thieves in the Unions, and their running away will be more numerous from now on. The smoke of the Chicago convention is smoking out of their holes a whole raft of rats that otherwise would have continued to thrive at their "noble waging of the Class Struggle" trade. Keep tally on that crew, as each comes leaping out of his whole—smoked out.

H. J. S., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—The easiest way out of it is for us to throw ourselves upon your mercy. At this late date it is impossible to recall the circumstances. Probably that correspondence was suppressed because you had the floor on the matter before, and probably also because it was decided by that time to shut off further letters, except those already in. There can have been no evil intent or malice at this end of the line.

TO FRIENDS EVERYWHERE—Send to this office copy of the preamble and constitution of your respective unoins.

(Continued on page 6.)

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, P. O. Box 350, London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting of the above committee was held on Friday, August 4, at 2-6 New Reade street with T. Walsh in the chair. Present were: Walsh, Crawford, Teichlauf, Kinneally, Moren and Anderson. Absent on Party work and excused: Gillhaus, Katz, and Hossack. Absent without excuse: Donahue, Bahnsen, Burke and Eck. The minutes of the previous meeting were accepted as read. The financial report for the two preceding weeks showed receipts in the amount of $193.15; expenditures, $146.69.

Communications: From Olive M. Johnson, Oakland, Cal., relative to her report to N. E. C. on California situation, about local matters and about the Chicago convention. From E. Herman, Lincoln, Neb., about transferring membership from Section Lincoln, which has become defunct, to the N. E. C. as members at large of the members still remaining. From several points along the route of De Leon's tour reporting good meetings despite the extreme heat prevailing at the time. From P. Axelrod, Geneva, Switzerland, a letter enclosing receipts for money sent for the Russian Revolutionists' fund. From N. Y. S. E. C., requesting replacement of dues stamps lost by Section New York County. Granted. From R. Katz, New York State Organizer, reporting about work in Binghamton and Elmira. From Chas. G. Davidson, St. Paul, Minn., former secretary reported that contributions to the tion of his successor and giving reasons for not accepting a renomination for the office; also requesting replacement of 25 dues stamps lost same to be sent to his successor. From G. H. Williams, organizer, reporting the conditions met with in several Montana towns.

Applications for charters were presented for two new sections located at Binghamton, N. Y., and Stockton, Cal., same to be known as Sections Broome and San Joaquin County, respectively. The charters were granted. The National Secretay reported that contributions to the General Agitation Fund had been falling off of late, the relatively high figures of the last few weeks being due to the De Leon tour and were offset by expenditures of equal size; that in view of the greater opportunities consequent upon the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World, an effort should be made to stimulate a more energetic collection of funds, which, if obtained, would enable the National Executive Committee Sub-Committee to plan agitational work on a larger scale. It was resolved to issue a circular to the Sections of the Party and also to prepare a card soliciting funds, the latter to be applied to general use.

The following Sections reported the election of new officers for the current term: St. Louis, Mo.; Hamilton, Ohio, Erie, Co., N. Y., Cincinnati, O.; Monroe Co., N. Y. and Milwaukee, Wis.

A. Moren,
Recording Secretary, pro tem.

GENERAL AGITATION FUND.

During the week ending with Saturday, August 5, the following contributions were received to the above fund:

Section Cleveland, Ohio, per D. De Leon	$ 14.00
Section Allegheny Count, Pa., per D. De Leon	23.00
Otto Boehmke, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.50
23rd A. D., New York	50
Robert Clausen, Somers, Mont., per B. H. Williams	20.00
Section Milwaukee, Wis., per D. De Leon	15.00
J. T. Dyer, Havre, Mont., per B. H. Williams	1.50
Holger Schmalfuss, Pittsfield, Mass.	1.00
Total	$ 76.50
Previously acknowledged	$1,105.43
Grand total	$1,181.93

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

BASKY'S RETURN TOUR.

The Hungarian Socialist Labor Federation has arranged the following tour for Comrade Basky, on his return from San Francisco, Cal.:

July 28-August 28—Cleveland and vicinity.

August 29,—Youngstown, O.

August 30—Steubenville, O.

August 31-October 6—Pittsburg, Pa.

Following this, Basky will tour the rest of the State of Pennsylvania to organize in towns where Hungarian workingmen reside.

Basky will speak for the Socialist Labor Party and the Industrial Workers of the World, in the Hungarian language. He is an able speaker. Comrades, give him a helping hand.

ORGANIZER WILLIAMS' DATES

In the States of Montana, Washington and Idaho.

Spokane, Wash.—August 6-19.

Coeur d'Alene region, Idaho—August 20-30.

Missoula, Mont., and vicinity—August 31 to September 9.

DER ARBEITER PICNIC

August 19 is near. On that day the Socialist Labor Club of New York will hold a Picnic for the benefit of the Jewish Party Organ "DER ARBEITER"

The Committee in charge of the affair is doing everything in its power to make necessary arangements for that day.

It should not be forgotten that a Grand Concert will also be held, for which first class talent has been engaged.

Now, all those, who think necessary to maintain a Jewish Party Organ, through which we can propagate the principles of true Socialism to the Jewish workingmen will make it their duty to be in Glendale Schuetzen Park, on Saturday, August 19, and bring their friends along. The price of the gents' ticket is twenty-five cents. Ladies tickets cost only 15 cents each. If you have not got your tickets yet, get them NOW

Committee.

LOWELL, MASS., ATTENTION!

About June 19 we received a letter from Lowell, Mass., with $1 inclosed, ordering a bundle copies of our German party organ of issue containing Trautmann's second open letter. As neither name nor address was given in letter order could not be filled. The comrade who sent letter and money will therefore send name and address as soon as possible.

Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung,
Rich. Koeppel, Mgr.

SECTION OFFICERS.

The following Sections have elected the following officers for the ensuing term:

MILWAUKEE—Organizer, A. Schnable, Jr.; financial secretary, F. R. Wilke; recording secretary, H. Horn; English press agent, C. Oberhen; German press agent, R. Babink; literary agent, A. Schabel, Jr.; librarian, A. Kler.

MONROE COUNTY (Rochester, N. Y.)—Organizer, John C. Vollersten; recording secretary, Edmund Ennis; financial secretary, Charles A. Ruby; treasurer, Carl A. Luedecke; literary agent, George Fisher; People agent, Chas. A. Ruby; "Der Arbeiter" agent, Anton Metzler; "Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung" agent, Anton Metzler; auditing committee, Robert C. Wetzel, Lewis Bell and Joseph Zeiver; grievance committee, Anton Metzler, Carl A. Luedecke and John C. Vollersten; entertainment committee, E. Ennis, Elvin Scusa, J. Zeiver, B. Bauml and A. Metzler; press committee, L. Harris, A. Metzler and J. C. Vollerstein.

HAMILTON (Ohio)—Organizer, James P. Mackey; recording secretary, Joseph Feldman; financial secretary, William Wurst; treasurer, John H. Rooke; auditors, Frank Ferber, John E. Steiger and John H. Noraholt; literary and Weekly People agent, Benj. Hilbert.

ERIE COUNTY (Buffalo, N. Y.)—Organizer, Emanuel Hauk; recording secretary, Thos. H. Jackson; financial secretary, Henry Bork; treasurer, Wm. F. Kohloff; sergeant-at-arms, Jos. Mahoney; literary agent and librarian, Jos. Ball; agents, party press: English, E. Hauk, German, Wm. F. Rohloff, Jewish, Norman Soifer, Swedish, Carl Jahlein, Italian, Francesco Dio Dezzio, Hungarian, Jos. Herzog; agitation committee, F. Woznak, N. Soifer, Wm. Vincent, F. Reipschlager, J. Yates, B. Reinstein, Thos. Jackson and E. Hauk; entertainment committee, J. Mahoney, U. Soifer, J. Yates, H. Bork, F. Reipschlager and Dio Dezzio; grievance committee, C. Ball, Jr., J. Ball and E. Hauk; auditing committee, C. Ball, Jr., F. Woznak and J. Yates; house committee, J. Ball, Jr., Mahoney and F. Till.

Section St. Paul, Minn., S. L. P. at its last meeting elected the following officers for the ensuing term:

Organizer, Math. J. Cikanek; Recording Secretary, Robert Peterson; Financial Secretary, Hans Carstenson; Treasurer, Literary Agent and Weekly People Agent, Samuel Johnson; Agitation Committee, N. J. Peterson, Hans. Carstenson, and Sam Johnson; Grievance Committee, E. Constant, Carsten Hanson and T. Richards; Agent for Hungarian and German paper, John Schneider.

Section East St. Louis, at its last meeting, elected the following officers for the six months ending December 31: Ben Frankford, organizer; G. A. Jenning, recording secretary; Gust. Surber, financial secretary; Wm. Veal, treasurer; auditing committee, Wm. W. Cox, Harry Bloemsma and Louis Bremeeman; grievance committee, Gust. Jenning, W. W. Cox and Harry Blounsma.

DETROIT INDUSTRIALISTS

Report on De Leon Meeting in That City—Pure and Simple Organ Scored.

Detroit, Mich., July 30.—The meeting of the Industrialists of July 19 was held at Maimi Hall in this city. On account of the warm weather the hall did not begin to fill up much before 8 o'clock, when the meeting was opened by the chairman, Comrade Herman Richter, who made some well chosen remarks, calling attention and showing up the "pure and simplers'" position by analyzing their estimate of the Chicago Convention, contained in this week's edition of the Michigan Union Advocate. It was plainly shown that this so-called "guardian of Labor's interests" was nothing more nor less than a deliberate falsifier intent on hiding the truth and belittling the results of the convention, and, as Debs put it, to further chloroform the minds of the Working Class by inducing them to remain within the bounds of "pure and simpledom." Comrade De Leon was then introduced amid great applause from the working people assembled.

De Leon began by stating that he considered that the new organization marked an epoch in the history of the Working Class Movement of the United States and the world, because, said he, the economic conditions of the United States are so far in advance of other countries that it would force the United States to take the lead in the great struggle for Socialism. It was his belief that since June 27, the Labor Movement of the United States had advanced fifty years.

The preamble of the new organization was then commented upon and three of its principal clauses were analyzed to show the stand the new movement had taken.

Comrade De Leon had a large poster called "Uncle Sam's balance sheet", by which he proved conclusively to the audience that not only did the employers and employes have nothing in common, but that contrary to the claims of "Pure and Simplers" the wages of the Working Class had been steadily declining. He showed how that in 1860 the workers retained twenty per cent of their products and some one else, alias the Capitalist Class, received the other eighty per cent.

De Leon proved that in 1880 this decreased to 17 per cent, but rose to 20 per cent in 1890, and it was right here that his keen wit showed up to good advantage when he said that the wages of the Working Class had been increasing at such a tremendous breakneck rate of speed that in thirty years they were just where they were when they started and that the progress had been in the nature of a cow's tail—always downward!

De Leon told how the cost of living had increased in greater proportion than the slight increase in wages and also how the quality had diminished, illustrating it by pointing out the 400,000 infants murdered by manufacturers who would lose money if compelled to use pure materials instead of analine dyes, etc.; and also by repating what a Kansas woman had told him about some underwear she had purchased, saying that "darn it", she had to "darn" the "darn" thing from the time the "darn" thing was first put on.

De Leon asked all those in the audience who were better off to-day than ten years ago, but nary a one could be seen, but when the contrary was asked there were few in the audience who did not appreciate that they were getting the straight facts proved on the spot.

De Leon advised the people who were in doubt to take a pencil and paper in the Working Class district and keep tab on all the gray-haired workmen that passed and then stroll into the big offices and note all the gray-haired capitalists and see which list was longest, saying that if this was done surprises were likely to be in order.

By quoting statistics and by the foregoing illustration and also by showing the death lists of working people dying from consumption and many contagious diseases contracted from starvation and empty stomachs, De Leon proved that the clause in the preamble stating that the "Condition of the Working Class was one of hunger and slow starvation" was an apt description of present conditions.

Speaking of tyrants, De Leon said that nature was the cruelest of them all, but the machinery of profit having dethroned her the crown had been transferred to the Capitalist Class, who while claiming work to be ennobling were only too anxious to allow the workman to have all the nobility. The more the Working Class gets the less the capitalist gets, and vice versa, thus showing that the opposing interests were bound to manifest themselves generally by such convulsions as strikes, lockouts, etc.

Dwelling on Industrial Unionism, De Leon began by showing up the non-class-conscious International Union of John Mitchell's, which allowed the bituminous miners to scab it on the anthracite miners. De Leon showed the falsity of the contract system by proving that according to law the two parties entering therein were not equal, therefore, the workers being economically dependent upon the capitalists, the latter can break a contract because that contract is not lawfully valid.

De Leon showed the bad generalship of the American Federation of Labor in allowing contracts to expire on different dates and allowing one small portion of Labor's army to go into battle and get licked and another and another, etc., instead of throwing the whole force into the conflict. He prophesied that the day was not far off when the labor fakirs of the A. F. of L. type would be courtmartialed and shot by Labor's army, a statement which gained for him the greatest applause of the evening.

De Leon showed how that, through the pure and simple unions, the workingmen were led astray by the free traders, gold bugs, etc., but he said that no matter how much we might believe in either of these, the workman being in a commodity position was unable to materially improve his condition without the ownership of the tools, the gaining of which is the only solution of the Class Struggle.

Speaking of the clause "without affiliation with any political party", which is being widely discussed among the class-conscious workmen throughout the county, De Leon asked the audience, "which was first, the hen or the egg", which, of course, they could not say, both being essential to the other, and thus it was with the trade or industrial union: it makes no difference, both are necessary to emancipate the Working Class.

The Capitalist Class, he claimed, will allow you to talk and talk so long as it remains as such, but when the workmen are organized upon a revolutionary platform it will be impossible to slip through at the polls without the backing of the economic organization and remain true to Working Class interests. Capitalist government is essentially political and implies power, power to oppress; and legislation means reform, allowing the system to remain unchanged. Socialism on the contrary is Administration, the control of the machinery of production by representatives of the different industries of the economic (not political) organization.

After answering several civil questions, a collection was taken up, amounting to $5; and some pamphlets were sold.

The weather being very warm the meeting was all that could be expected and it was evident that Comrade De Leon's explanations were well taken, and at times it became necessary for him to stay the applause of the audience, while he was making a special point, and I am sure that every one would be glad to hear him again.

This report is very late in getting to press, but it was impossible for me to send it sooner, as I have been working almost night and day.

ARTHUR L. KLINE.

LETTER BOX.

(Continued from page 5.)

J. C. N., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Send them on. Will be appreciated.

דאוויד מיכאלאווסקי,

מיר האבען שמערץ אין אונזער קיס־קעס דאס דו אונד דיא טרייפע קאנגארום זא פיעל צארעס האבען דאס איהר מהום אייער הויזן אונד קרייצ צו רייסען. אבער יעדער טרייפע ווינד איז כשר־פאר יע־מאנד. מער איהר אייער האזען רייסט אין קריע דאס מער ארבייט פאר דיא אר־בייטער. דאס איז דיא אייציגע זאכע דאס א קאנגארו קען נוצען געמאכט ווערין פאר דיא ארבייטער בעוועגונג. דאס דע־ליאן איז דאך א גוטער יוד, כאצבע ער וויל נים דאס מען זאל איהם רופען לאיב. ער וועט מייהעפען שיווע זיצין אונד ער וועט אייך מנחם אבל זיין.

"ED. SIMNOEL," OGDEN, UTAH; T. V., KALAMAZOO, MICH.; R. J., ROCKLAND, ME.; D. T. L., NEW YORK; A. M., BOSTON, MASS.; T. O., J. P. S. AND R. W., CHICAGO, ILL.; "UNKNOWN," HERRINGTON, KANS.; T. R. L., COVINGTON, CONN.; B. C., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; R. A., BROOKLYN, N. Y.; G. G., SAN JOSE, CAL.; "TRENTON," TRENTON, N. J.; O. M., REDLANDS, CAL.; F. B., CHICAGO, ILL.; T. R., TOLEDO, O.; F. A. L., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.; B. C. D., ST. LOUIS, MO.; F. R. A., PHOENIX, ARIZ.; "ON THE GO," KANSAS CITY, MO.—Matter received.

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MUNICIPAL TICKET. SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

FOR MAYOR:
John J. Kinneally.
FOR COMPTROLLER:
August Gillhaus.
FOR PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN:
Justus Ebert.

NEW YORK OPEN AIR MEETINGS.

Monday, August 14, 8 p. m.—Fifty-fourth street and Eighth avenue.

Tuesday, August 15, 8 p. m.—Twenty-fourth street and Eighth avenue.

Wednesday, August 16, 8 p. m.—Seventy-fifth street and Second avenue. Thirty-second street and Third avenue. One Hundred and Eighth street and Lexington avenue.

Thursday, August 17, 8 p. m.—Thompson and Bleecker streets. Seventy-seventh street and Second avenue. One Hundred and Twenty-fifth street and Second avenue.

Friday, August 18, 8 p. m.—Eighty-fourth street and Avenue A. One Hundred and Thirty-eighth street and Brook avenue.

Saturday, August 19, 8 p. m.—One Hundred and First street and Columbus avenue. One Hundred and Forty-eighth street and Willis avenue. One Hundred and Fifty-second street and Robbins avenue.

The Industrial Workers of the World, headquarters, 148 West Madison st., Chicago, Ill. Wm. E. Trautmann, General Secretary-Treasurer; Chas. O. Sherman, General President.

SILK WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES, ATTENTION!

All wage workers employed in the silk industry, either as weavers, warpers, twisters, dyers, etc., desiring to join or sympathizing with the Industrial Workers of the World, an industrial organization which has for its aim and object the uniting of the workers into a class conscious organization for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system are requested to communicate with Ernest Romary, 110 West Twenty-ninth street, Paterson, N. J.

MORE IMPRESSIONS OF THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

(Continued from page 2.)

Silver Republican and Populist parties got together and agreed upon division of the spoils of office in advance. One of the offices alloted to the Populists was that of Lieut.-Governor, and John Calderwood, a union man of the Cripple Creek district, secured the nomination. To understand the true inwardness of the situation it is necessary to relate a little history.

In 1894 occurred the famous Bull Hill war, and Calderwood, as leader of the miners, made a successful campaign against the cohorts of Capitalism. The leader in the fight for the mine-owners was Charles S. Thomas, and this man exhausted every resource at his command in serving his masters against the miners. Four years later, by a turn of the political wheel, he secured the nomination for Governor on the Democratitc ticket, which, at that time, was equivalent to an election, provided the union men of the state could be blinded to Thomas' anti-union record. To this end Francis Carney, of Curay, was given the second place on the ticket. In the campaign that followed Coates, a paid official of the State Federation of Labor, deliberately and wilfully neglected the duties of his office to stump the state for Thomas, who had referred to the Bull Hill men as being "wild and unmanageable beasts", thereby betraying into the hands of the enemy the members of certain Demora unions that were on strike.

To resume. In 1900, therefore, C. S. Thomas was Governor of Colorado and the big man in the Democratic party, having back of him the great corporate interests of the state, and when Calderwood was named for second place on the fusion ticket by the Populists, Thomas stated flatly that the name would not be endorsed by the Democrats. At that the crowd that was manipulating the Populist convention, fearful of the prospective prizes, slipping away from them, withdrew Calderwood's name and Coates walked off with the prize, having, as running mate, James B. Orman, who, as a labor skinner, has no superior in the West.

The attitude of Thomas toward Calderwood has, I think, been sufficiently explained. Could a self-respecting union man take the nomination upon its being made so glaringly apparent that Calderwood had been thrown out because he had been a champion of his class in more than name? I shall not discuss the point, contenting myself with stating that Coates eagerly snapped the bait held out, and to him Charles S. Thomas had no objection.

Of course, some excuse must be offered for this action, and insult was added to injury in the case of Calderwood by the Democratic party and its decoy ducks, who said that the man was persona non grata to Thomas because he was a drunkard and that his business was that of a receiver of stolen ore. I shall not pass upon this feature, as the fact is that the man was thrown overboard because of his work "on the Hill," and that, had it not been for that, he would have been as joyfully received as was D. A. Mills, who was nominated for Secretary of State, a man of a lamentably certain character, or an ignoramus like C. C. Post, the fusion candidate for Attorney General, whose term of office was one long, continuous farce.

I shall close with a few remarks as to the temper of the convention and to the probability of its being the beginning of the end of Capitalism. The prevailing note was optimistic and it is my opinion that the majority of the delegates was made up of men and women who are big enough to see that success lies in fitting the organization to the condotions of to-day and in keeping steadily in view the end to which we would bring our class—the Co-operative Commonwealth.

There are two standpoints from which to regard the "Industrial Workers of the World": that of its advance upon the methods and aims of craft unionism, and that which I am persuaded is the ideal form of organization for the working class. In the first case, a magnificent advance has, unquestionably, been made; in the other, it is equally certain that much ground remains to be covered. The new union is not perfect; indeed, to be regarded as such could be for it a great misfortune.

As an educator the Chicago convention stands, probably, without a parallel. Scores of those who attended grasped, for the first time in their lives, the full significance of the fact that neither a political party nor an economic organization is an isolated phenomenon, and the influence for good of the delegates, when they shall take off their coats for the new organization, cannot be expressed in words or figures.

The development of the Industrial Workers of the World from imperfection to perfection is to me simply a question of the tenacity with which we hold to the fact which gives it life—the Class struggle—and the object of our desires—the Co-operative Commonwealth.

H. J. Brimble.

SECTION ST. LOUIS OFFICERS.

At a regular business meeting of Section St. Louis, Mo., held June 22, the following officers were elected:

Organizer, Paul Herzel; recording secretary, J. F. Graber; financial secretary, Joe Spalti; People agent, Morris Biell; S. A. Z. agent, Carl Meier; librarian, W. H. McNealy; auditing committee, Theo. Kaucher, J. J. Ernst, J. W. Neumann; grievance committee, Carl Meier, Morris Biell, J. F. Graber; correspondent to The People, J. F. Graber.

Comrade Johnson having resigned from State Committee because of his leaving town, Henry Knobel was elected to fill vacancy.

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28th A. D. New York	75
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Total	$458.75

SYRACUSE, ATTENTION.

The readers of The People, friends and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party, who desire to see the said Party's candidate on the official ballot this fall, are invited to call at Room 14, Myers Block, any Thursday or Sunday, p. m.; or at 1322 Grape street, evenings after 6 o'clock; or at 606 South Clinton street, any time, and sign the petition. A commissioner of deeds will be present attesting the signatures.

James Trainor, Organizer.

SECTION CALENDAR.

(Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements, at a nominal rate. The charge will be one dollar per line per year.)

Kings County General Committee—Second and fourth Saturdays, 8 p. m. at Weber's Hall, corner of Throop avenue and Stockton street, Brooklyn.

General Committee, New York County—Second and fourth Saturday in the month, at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Offices of Section New York County at Daily People building, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

Los Angeles, California. Section headquarters and public reading room at 205½ South Main street. Public educational meetings every Sunday evening. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

San Francisco, Calif., S. L. P. headquarters and free reading room, No. 280 Jessie street. Open day and evening. All wage workers cordially invited.

Section Chicago, S. L. P. meet every 2nd and 4th Monday at 55 North Clark street.

Sec. St. Louis, Mo., S. L. P. meets every Thursday, 8 p. m. at 307½ Pine Street Room 6.

Sec. Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P. meets every first and third Sunday of month at 356 Ontario Street (Ger. Am. Bank Bldg.) top floor, at 2.30 P. M.

Tacoma, Wash., Section headquarters and public reading room corner 12th and A street, room 304, over Post Office. Open every evening. All workingmen invited. Business meetings every Tuesday.

Section Providence, R. I., meets at 77 Dyer street, room 8. Something going on every Tuesday night at 8.00 p. m. 2nd and 4th regular business, others devoted to lectures and discussions. During the winter a Science Class every Wednesday night.

Section Indianapolis. Meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month, at 29½ South Deleware street, third floor.

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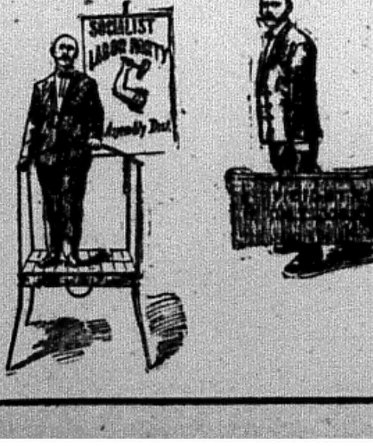

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